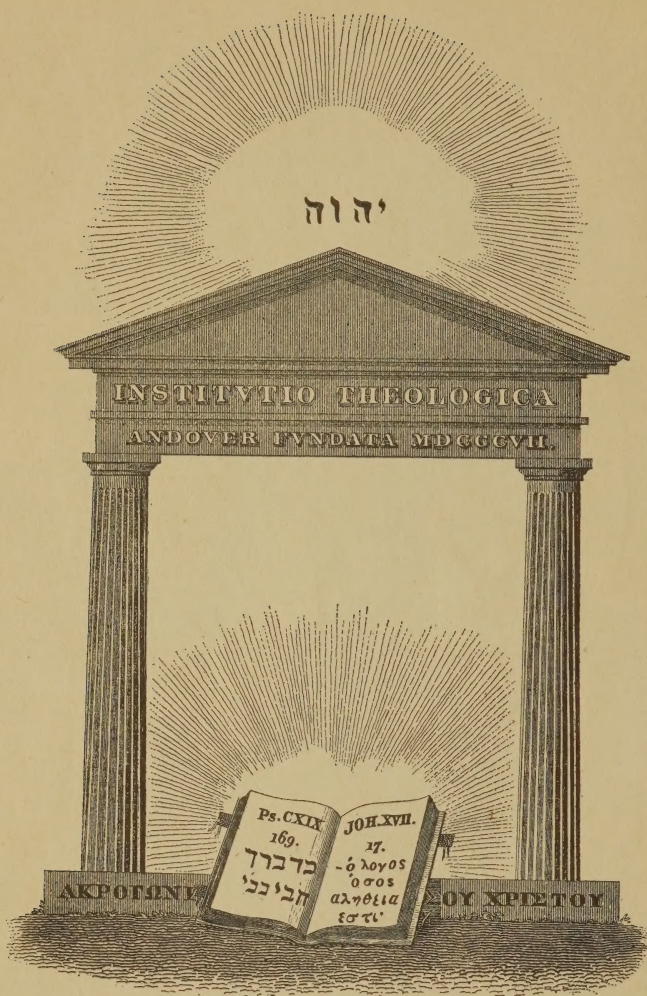




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NEWTON CENTRE, MASSACHUSETTS

COLLECTIONS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS

HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

VOL II.

OF THE FOURTH SERIES.

BOSTON:
PUBLISHED FOR THE SOCIETY,
By CROSBY, NICHOLS, AND COMPANY.
1854.



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MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ACT OF INCORPORATION.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

In the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four.

An Act to incorporate a Society, by the name of THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

WHEREAS the collection and preservation of materials for a political and natural history of the United States is a desirable object, and the institution of a Society for those purposes will be of public utility :

Be it therefore enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives, in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, That William Baylies, Esq., Jeremy Belknap, D. D., the Rev. Alden Bradford, Peleg Coffin, Esq., Manasseh Cutler, D. D., John Davis, Esq., Daniel Davis, Esq., Aaron Dexter, Doctor in Physic, the Rev. John Eliot, Nathaniel Freeman, Esq., the Rev. James Freeman, the Rev. Thaddeus Mason Harris, Isaac Lothrop, Esq., George Richards Minot, Esq., the Rev. John Mellen, Jun., Thomas Pemberton, William Dandridge Peck, the Rev. John Prince, Ezekiel Price, Esq., James Sullivan, Esq., David Sewall, Esq., Peter Thacher, D. D., William Tudor, Esq., Samuel Turell, Dudley Atkins Tyng, Esq., James Winthrop, Esq., Thomas Wallcut, Redford Webster, and William Wetmore, Esq., who have associated for the purposes aforesaid, and have requested an Act of Incorporation, be, and hereby are, formed into and constituted a Society and Body Politic and Corporate, by the name of the MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY ; and that they and their successors, and such other persons as shall be legally elected by them, shall be and continue a Body Politic and Corporate, by that name, for ever.

Act of Incorporation.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the members of said Society shall have power to elect a President, and all other necessary officers; and that the said Society shall have one common seal, and the same may break, change, and renew at pleasure; and that the same Society, by the name aforesaid, as a Body Politic and Corporate, may sue and be sued, prosecute and defend suits to final judgment and execution.

And be it further enacted, That the said Society shall have power to make orders and by-laws for governing its members and property, not repugnant to the laws of the Commonwealth, and may expel, disfranchise, or suspend any member, who, by his misconduct, shall be rendered unworthy.

And be it further enacted, That the said Society may, from time to time, establish rules for electing officers and members, and also times and places for holding meetings; and shall be capable to take and hold real or personal estate, by gift, grant, devise, or otherwise, and the same, or any part thereof, to alien and convey: *Provided,* That the annual income of any real estate, by said Society holden, shall never exceed the sum of five hundred pounds; and that the personal estate thereof, besides books, papers, and articles in the Museum of said Society, shall never exceed the value of two thousand pounds.

And be it further enacted, That the members of said Society shall never be more than sixty (except honorary members, residing without the limits of this Commonwealth), and that James Sullivan, Esq. be, and hereby is, authorized and empowered to notify and warn the first meeting of said Society; and that the same Society, when met, shall agree upon a method for calling future meetings, and may have power to adjourn from time to time, as may be found necessary.

And be it further enacted, That either branch of the Legislature shall and may have free access to the Library and Museum of said Society.

This Act passed Feb. 19, 1794.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

JANUARY MEETING, 1853. A Committee, consisting of Messrs. YOUNG, TICKNOR, and SHURTLEFF, appointed to revise the Rules and Regulations of the Society, reported the same in a new draft, which was laid on the table, and ordered to be printed under direction of the Publishing Committee.

FEBRUARY MEETING, 1853. *Ordered,* That five hundred copies of the By-Laws, as adopted this day, together with the Act of Incorporation, be printed.

Attest,

JOSEPH WILLARD,

Recording Secretary.

BY-LAWS.

CHAPTER I.

OF MEMBERS.

ARTICLE 1. — The Regular, or Resident, Members of the Society shall be elected from among the citizens of this Commonwealth, and shall cease to be members whenever they cease to be citizens; the Honorary, or Corresponding Members, shall be elected from among those persons who are not citizens of this Commonwealth, and shall cease to be members if at any time they become citizens.

ARTICLE 2. — A book shall be kept by the Recording Secretary, in which any Resident Member of the Society may at any monthly meeting enter the name of any person, whom he may regard as suitable to be elected a Resident Member; it being understood, that each member is bound in honor not to make known abroad the name of any person so proposed, while the person proposed may continue to be a candidate. But no nomination of a Resident Member shall be made except by a report of the Standing Committee, and no nomination thus made shall be acted upon at the same meeting to which it is reported.

ARTICLE 3. — Nominations of Corresponding Members may be made by any member of the Society, and shall be entered in the record of the meeting at which each may be made; but no member shall nominate more than one candidate at one and the same meeting, and no candidate shall be voted for at the same meeting at which he may have been nominated.

ARTICLE 4. — All members shall be elected by ballot, and in balloting for members, the law and custom of our forefathers shall be observed, by taking the question with Indian corn and beans, — the corn expressing *yeas*, and the beans *nays*; but no person shall be deemed chosen, unless there be nine members present at the election, nor unless two thirds of all the members present shall have voted affirmatively.

ARTICLE 5. — Each Resident Member shall pay eight dollars at the time of his admission, and three dollars annually afterwards, into the Treasury of the Society, for its general purposes;

but any member shall be exempted from the annual payment if, at any time after six months from his admission, he shall pay into the Treasury thirty dollars in addition to what he may before have paid.

ARTICLE 6. — If any person elected as a Resident Member shall neglect, for one year after being notified of his election, to pay his admission fee, his election shall be void ; and if any Resident Member shall neglect to pay his annual assessment for three years after it shall have become due, and have been demanded, he shall cease to be a member. Each person who shall be elected a member shall, when notified of it, be furnished by the Corresponding Secretary with an attested copy of this Article and the preceding one, and the Treasurer shall, as cases may occur, report to the Society those persons who have neglected to pay their admission fee or their annual assessments, as above required.

ARTICLE 7. — Diplomas signed by the President and countersigned by the two Secretaries shall be issued to all persons who have become members of the Society.

CHAPTER II.

OF MEETINGS.

ARTICLE 1. — There shall be a Regular Meeting of the Society at noon on the second Thursday of every month, at their rooms in Boston ; and Special Meetings shall be called by either of the Secretaries whenever requested so to do by the President, or, in case of his absence or inability, then by the Standing Committee, or by any five members of the Society.

ARTICLE 2. — At all meetings, the President shall take the chair in five minutes after the time appointed in the notification, and the record of the preceding meeting shall then be, at once, read ; after which, at all Special Meetings, the special business for which the meeting was called shall be transacted ; and at all Regular Meetings the order of business shall be as follows : —

The Librarian shall make a detailed report of whatever may have been received by him since the last meeting.

The Cabinet-Keeper shall make a similar report.

The Corresponding Secretary shall read any communications he may have received.

The unfinished business, and the assignments of the last meeting, shall be announced by the Recording Secretary to the President, and taken up in their order.

The Standing Committee shall be called on to report its doings since the last meeting.

The other subsisting committees that may not have reported shall be called on for reports.

The members who may have any business to propose shall be desired by the President to propose it.

The members generally shall then be invited, so far as time may permit, to make any oral communications on any subject having relation to the objects of the Society ;—and, for the orderly accomplishment of this purpose, the Society shall be divided into three sections, as nearly equal in numbers as may be, each of which sections, in regular sequence, shall be notified by the Recording Secretary, that the Society, at the next following meeting, will desire to receive from it such communications as are above suggested, and the officer presiding at the next meeting shall call upon each of the members of such section, in his turn, to offer any such communication or propose any such subject, after which the communication so made, or the subject so proposed, may be discussed by the Society generally. Provided, however, that, if the member proposing such subject prefer to do it in writing, the Recording Secretary shall enter it in the Records of the Society, and it may be discussed either at the time when it is proposed, or at any subsequent meeting.

ARTICLE 3. — Five members shall be a quorum for all purposes except the election of members, as hereinbefore provided, and excepting, also, alterations of the By-laws, which shall not be made unless nine persons are present, nor unless the subject has either been discussed at a previous meeting, or reported on by a committee appointed for the purpose.

ARTICLE 4. — At the request of any two members present, any motion shall be once deferred to a subsequent meeting, for discussion, before it is finally disposed of.

ARTICLE 5. — All committees shall be nominated by the chair, unless otherwise provided for.

CHAPTER III.

OF OFFICERS.

THE Officers of the Society shall be a President, who shall be, *ex officio*, Chairman of the Standing Committee ; a Recording Secretary ; a Corresponding Secretary ; a Treasurer ; a Librarian ; a Cabinet-Keeper ; and a Standing Committee of five ;—all of whom shall be chosen by ballot at the Monthly

Meeting in April, and shall hold their respective offices for one year, or until others are duly chosen in their stead. But at the regular Monthly Meeting preceding any election of officers, a Nominating Committee, consisting of three persons, shall be appointed by the chair, who shall report to the meeting at which the election is to be made a list of members for the places to be filled; — no person being deemed eligible to more than one of the regular offices of the Society at the same time, and no more than three of the Standing Committee being deemed re-eligible.

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE PRESIDENT.

THE President shall preside in all meetings of the Society when present, and when absent, a President *pro tempore* shall be chosen by hand vote.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE RECORDING SECRETARY.

ARTICLE 1. — The Recording Secretary, or, in case of his death or absence, the Corresponding Secretary, shall warn all meetings of the Society, by sending, through the post-office, notices of each meeting, at least four days beforehand, to all members living in Boston or in its neighborhood, and to such other members as may specially request him so to do.

ARTICLE 2. — He shall keep an exact record of all the meetings of the Society, with the names of the members present; entering in full all reports of committees that may be accepted by the Society, unless otherwise specially directed.

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

ARTICLE 1. — The Corresponding Secretary shall inform all persons of their election as members of the Society, sending notice of the terms of their election to those chosen to be Resident Members, and issuing afterwards the proper diplomas.

ARTICLE 2. — He shall carry on all the correspondence of the Society, not otherwise provided for, and deposit copies of the letters sent and the original letters received, in regular files, in the Library.

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE TREASURER.

ARTICLE 1. — The Treasurer shall collect all moneys due to the Society, and shall keep regular and faithful accounts of all the moneys and funds of the Society that may come into his hands, and of all receipts and expenditures connected with the same, which accounts shall always be open to the inspection of the members; and at the Regular Meeting in April, he shall make a written report of all his doings for the year preceding, and of the amount and condition of all the property of the Society intrusted to him.

ARTICLE 2. — He shall pay no moneys, except on vote of the Society, or on voucher of an officer or committee acting conformably to its laws or orders.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE LIBRARIAN, AND OF THE LIBRARY.

ARTICLE 1. — The Librarian shall have charge of all the books, tracts, maps, manuscripts, and other property of the Society appropriate to a library, and shall make and keep exact and perfect catalogues of each and all of them, doing whatever may be in his power, at all times, to preserve and increase the collections under his care.

ARTICLE 2. — He shall acknowledge each donation that may be made to the Library, by a letter addressed to the person making it.

ARTICLE 3. — He shall at every Monthly Meeting of the Society report all donations made to the Library since the last Monthly Meeting, with the names of the donors.

ARTICLE 4. — He shall keep a regular and exact account of all books taken out, with the names of the persons who take them, and the dates when they are borrowed and returned.

ARTICLE 5. — He shall be present in the Library, in person or by a substitute approved by the Standing Committee, at the regular hours appointed for keeping it open, and shall endeavor to render it useful to all who may resort to it.

ARTICLE 6. — Any member of the Society may take from the Library three printed volumes at a time, and keep each of them four weeks, with a right to renew the loan for four weeks more, unless some other member has, in that interval, asked for it in writing; but if he retains it beyond this second period, he must first obtain the written assent of a member of the Standing Committee, permitting him to do so, or he shall be fined ten cents a week for each volume so retained.

ARTICLE 7. — At the written request of any member of this Society, the Librarian shall permit any person to visit and use the Library, at such times as the Librarian may be in attendance; such member becoming thereby responsible for any injury to the property of the Society that may result from such introduction of a stranger.

ARTICLE 8. — At the written request of any member of the Society, the Librarian shall deliver to any one person indicated in such request, but to no more than one person at the same time, any book or books belonging to the Society, which the member himself could take out; such member, by such request, making himself responsible that all the rules relating to the book or books so taken out shall be as fully observed by the person authorized to receive them, as if he were a member; and that any injury accruing to the property of the Society, in consequence of the privilege thus granted, shall be made good by the member at whose request the grant is made.

ARTICLE 9. — At the meetings in April, July, October, and January, the Librarian shall lay before the Society a list of the names of those persons, not members, who during the preceding three months, respectively, may have had access to the Library, by permission of individual members of the Society, with the names of the members at whose request the privilege was granted, adding a statement of each injury that may have been sustained by the property of the Society, in consequence of granting such permission, and the name of the member bound to make it good.

ARTICLE 10. — The Publishing Committee, for the time being, shall be permitted to take such books and manuscripts from the Library as they may need, in order properly to perform the duty assigned to them by the Society; but the Librarian shall make an especial entry or record of whatever is so taken, and, as soon as the volume they may have in charge is published, he shall demand and obtain from said Committee whatever they may have so received.

ARTICLE 11. — All manuscripts of the Society shall be kept under lock and key, and be consulted or used only in presence of the Librarian, who alone shall keep the keys.

ARTICLE 12. — Persons not members of the Society, but engaged in historical pursuits, shall be allowed to consult the manuscripts belonging to the Society, provided an application in writing, stating the object or objects of the inquiry, be first made to the Librarian, and approved by a member of the Standing Committee, who shall make record of the same.

ARTICLE 13. — No manuscript and no part of a manuscript belonging to the Society shall be copied, except on permission granted by vote of the Society, after an application in writing specifying the manuscript or part thereof desired to be copied; and if any manuscript belonging to the Society shall, in consequence of such permission, be published in whole or in part, the fact that it was obtained from the Society shall be stated in its publication. But nothing herein required shall be construed to prevent the publication of names, dates, and other chronological memoranda, without special permission obtained as above required.

ARTICLE 14. — Manuscripts of a confidential nature shall be retained in a place of special deposit, and shall be consulted only under such regulations as may be prescribed in each case by vote of the Society.

ARTICLE 15. — No maps, newspapers, or books, either of great rarity or of constant reference, shall be taken from the Library, except by vote of the Society.

ARTICLE 16. — All members taking books from the Library shall be answerable for any injury done to the same, to such amount as may be deemed just by the Standing Committee, and any person neglecting to pay any fines, or assessments for damages, one month after he shall have received notice of the same from the Librarian, or otherwise abusing his privilege to the injury of the Library, shall, by order of the Standing Committee, be interdicted from access to the same.

ARTICLE 17. — All tracts, books, maps, and manuscripts, belonging to the Society, shall be distinctly marked as its property; and any such tract, book, &c., that may be presented to the Society, shall be marked with the name of the donor, and recorded as his gift.

ARTICLE 18. — The Library shall be open on all week-days, from nine to one o'clock in the forenoon throughout the year, and from three to five in the afternoon in winter, and from three to seven in the afternoon in summer, except during the fortnight before the Annual Meeting in April, when it shall be closed for examination; and all books that may be lent are hereby required to be returned previous to that fortnight, under penalty of a fine of one dollar for each volume not so returned.

CHAPTER IX.

OF THE CABINET-KEEPER, AND THE MUSEUM.

ARTICLE 1. — The Cabinet-Keeper shall have charge of all coins, works of art, remains of antiquity, and other articles appropriate to the Society's Museum, and shall make and keep perfect and exact catalogues of the same.

ARTICLE 2. — He shall acknowledge each donation he may receive, by letter, to the person making it, and at every Monthly Meeting of the Society he shall report whatever may have been added to the collection of which he has charge, with the names of the donors.

CHAPTER X.

OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE.

ARTICLE 1. — The Standing Committee, as vacancies may occur in the Society by death or otherwise, shall report nominations for Resident Members to fill the same.

ARTICLE 2. — They shall pay the current expenses of the Society, drawing on the Treasurer, from time to time, for such sums as may be necessary for that purpose.

ARTICLE 3. — They shall annually, in the month of April, make a careful examination of the Library and Museum of the Society, comparing the books, manuscripts, and other articles in each, with their catalogues, respectively, and reporting at the April meeting, in detail, concerning their condition.

ARTICLE 4. — They shall record in full, in a book kept by them for the purpose, any permission granted by any one of their number for the consultation of the manuscripts of the Society, by persons not members.

ARTICLE 5. — They shall meet in the Society's rooms half an hour previous to every Regular Meeting, for the fulfilment of their appropriate duties, and for the purpose of facilitating the transaction of such business as is likely to come before the Society.

ARTICLE 6. — They shall, at every meeting, report to the Society all their doings since the last meeting, suggesting at the same time such business as they may deem advisable to bring before it.

CHAPTER XI.

OF THE PUBLISHING COMMITTEE.

IMMEDIATELY after the publication of any volume of the Collections of the Society, a committee of not less than three persons shall be appointed by nomination from the chair, whose duty it shall be to prepare and publish another volume, for which purpose free use is granted to them of all the manuscripts, printed books, and other resources of the Society, except the manuscripts deposited as confidential;—said committee being required hereby to return whatever they may have thus received, so soon as their use of the same for the purposes of such publication shall have ceased.

CHAPTER XII.

OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE TREASURER'S ACCOUNTS.

AT the Monthly Meeting in March, annually, a committee shall be appointed by nomination from the chair, consisting of not less than two persons, whose duty it shall be to examine the Treasurer's accounts for the year preceding, and at the Monthly Meeting in April to report thereon, and on the state of any property of the Society in his hands.

OFFICERS
OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

ELECTED APRIL 13, 1854.

PRESIDENT.

HON. JAMES SAVAGE, LL. D.

RECORDING SECRETARY.

JOSEPH WILLARD, A. M.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

REV. WILLIAM P. LUNT, D. D.

LIBRARIAN.

REV. JOSEPH B. FELT, A. M.

TREASURER.

RICHARD FROTHINGHAM, JR., ESQ.

CABINET-KEEPER.

NATHANIEL B. SHURTLEFF, M. D.

STANDING COMMITTEE.

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CHARLES DEANE, ESQ.
REV. GEORGE W. BLAGDEN, D. D.
REV. LUCIUS R. PAIGE, A. M.
REV. CHANDLER ROBBINS, A. M.

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REV. GEORGE E. ELLIS, A. M.
REV. CHANDLER ROBBINS, A. M.
NATHANIEL B. SHURTLEFF, M. D.
CHARLES DEANE, ESQ.

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IN THE ORDER OF THEIR ELECTION.

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Hon. James Savage, LL. D.
Rev. Charles Lowell, D. D.
Hon. Francis C. Gray, LL. D.
Hon. Nathan Hale, A. M.
Hon. Edward Everett, LL. D.
Rev. William Jenks, D. D.
Jared Sparks, LL. D.
Joseph E. Worcester, LL. D.
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Lemuel Shattuck, Esq.
Isaac P. Davis, Esq.
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William Brigham, A. B.
Hon. Abbott Lawrence, LL. D.
Hon. Emory Washburn, LL. D.
Rev. Samuel K. Lothrop, D. D.

ILL NEWES
FROM
NEW-ENGLAND:

OR

A Narrative of *New-Englands*
PERSECUTION.

WHEREIN IS DECLARED

That while old *England* is becoming new,
New-England is become Old.

Also four Proposals to the Honoured Parliament and
Council of State, touching the way to *Propagate*
the Gospel of Christ (with small charge
and great safety) both in Old
England and New.

Also four conclusions touching the faith and order of the
Gospel of Christ out of his last Will and
Testament, confirmed and justified.

By JOHN CLARK Physician of Rode Island in *America*.

Revel. 2. 25. Hold fast till I come.

3. 11. *Behold I come quickly.*

22. 20. *Amen, even so come Lord Jesus.*

L O N D O N,

Printed by *Henry Hills* living in *Fleet-Yard* next door to the *Rose*
and *Crown*, in the year 1652.

4TH S. — VOL. II.

THE manuscript from which the following reprint is made was transcribed from a copy of this rare tract in the exceedingly valuable collection of works on America belonging to John Carter Brown, Esq., of Providence, R. I. ; which copy was kindly loaned to the Society by the owner for the purpose for which it is now used.

*To the Right Honorable the House of PARLIAMENT, and
COUNCEL of STATE for the Commonwealth of ENGLAND,*
The author humbly craves of that mighty Counsellor,
that Prince of peace, a large donation of the spirit of
Counsell, and of the spirit of courage, with a suitable
and happy success for the *Peace, Liberty*, and enlarge-
ment of these three *Nations*.

MAY it please you right Honorable, in some of those
few vacant hours which it pleaseth the most high (whose
rod and staff you are) to afford unto you, from those
many, weighty, difficult, and distractfull incombrances, and
affairs, that do flow in, and press upon you daily, to cast
your eye (at least for recreations sake) upon this Treatise,
and the rather, because it contains in it matter of no small
concernment, as in it self, so especially to your honoured
selves; for in the first part, which is the narrative, you
may please to read a tragicall story, wherein I hope your
eye will not a litle affect your tender hearts, to see such
a discourteous entertainment of strangers, and wayfaring-
men that were passing by, and tarried but for a night or
two, and that by their neighbours, men professing the fear
of the Lord as they also do; who together for liberty of
their consciences, and worship of their God, as their hearts
were perswaded, long since fled from the persecuting hands
of the Lordly *Bishops*, your adversaries and ours, unto
those utmost parts of the World, to the extreme hazard
of their lives, the wasting of their estates, and upon the
point, to the totall loss and deprivation of their neer and
deer relations, and the comforts thereof in this their native
land; and the rather to see this acted by that sword, that
hand, which from your honoured arm they are betrusted

with, and so to see your sword, your power, your hand misused therein. In the second part, which is the confirmation of my testimony by the word of God, and testimony of Christ Jesus the Lord, and especially in the later part thereof: you that count it your greatest honour, and highest preferment in this world to be servants of Christ (who is indeed the Lord of Lords, and King of Kings, whose Sword-bearers you are, as was also that *Cæsar* although he knew it not) you (I say I hope) shall find that he hath not required such things at your hands, as generally they that have been his Sword-bearers before your selves have been apt to conceive; and thereupon have been too deeply engaged in the shedding of much innocent blood in this Land; being also perswaded thereunto by their teachers, who to maintain their superstitious, humane, invented religion and worship, for filthy lucre's sake, it being the only curious art, and craft by which they had their wealth and livings as those of old; not having the two-edged sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God, to defend themselves, and to maintain their craft, against the poor illiterate and despised servants and witnesses of Jesus Christ, have been forced to call for the sword of steel, the power of the Magistrate, to help to stop their mouths, to cut them off, and so to take them out of their way, and by casting a mist before their Rulers eyes they have still perswaded them, That this is their office, and duty to do, and that hereby they did God best service with that sword with which they were betruſted, whereas indeed they did but make their sword guilty of the blood of the innocent; and thus were they taken off from attending upon the very thing for which this sword was put into their hands, to attend upon their private, and carnall interests, and so were brought into a double transgression. By whose errataes, Right Honourable, I hope the Lord will teach you to beware, and by giving you a clear discerning of his mind, and will in these more bright sunne-shining daies (wherein the Earth begins to be filled with the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the Sea) will give you to understand that as all power in earth is given to him, so he to the glory of God his Father, whose power, and wisdom he is, doth wisely manage the same

by a two fold administration of power suitable to the two fold state or being of man, whom in the earth, and in the things thereof he hath appointed Lord; that one may be called an earthly, and outward administration, which suits the outward man, and all those outward, and visible things (in reference unto man) that do belong thereto, as he is Lord thereof, and is managed by an outward visible sword of steel, and by a carnall or audible voyce, or word of him, or them that holds it in their hand, and to an outward and carnal end, (yet righteous, just, and good, which being diligently attended to tends to the peace, liberty, and prosperity of a civil State, Nation and Kingdom so far as it concerns the outward man and visible state thereof;) which end is the preservation of it self, the whole, and every particular part, and person, belonging thereunto, safe in their person, name, and estate from him, or them that would rise up visibly to oppress, or wrong them in the same; Thus in the general; and to instance more particularly, in case by the caution of a wholesome Law, and just penalty annexed thereunto, which by a carnall hand or way, is presented to a carnall and visible eye, or ear, the Oppressour takes not warning, and will not be deterred from offering violence to the person, name, or estate of his neighbour, then by this power shall he be made responsible, and be forced *nolens volens*, so far as he is able to make it good, and to restore; in case any be impoverished, or falne to decay in their outward man, and estates by age, sickness, fire, or by some other way, or hand of GOD; so far as their present strength extends, by this power they are to be employed, and where it fails, to be relieved, and that by an equall, and just levy of their neighbours estates to be taken also by force in case there be not so much love, and charity in them towards their poor distressed neighbours to constrain them thereunto, and by the same way also to maintain it self, and all other just undertakings that may be presented for the preservation of the whole. And this in brief is the sum of that administration of Christs power in earth so far as it meerly concerns the outward man with respect to others that may uphold it, or molest it, and is managed by that sword of steel which in reference unto him is called in

scripture the rod of iron by which he rules the nations, and breaks them to peeces like a Potters vessel; and with this administration of his power on Earth (Right Honourable) hath he (who is the Lord of Lords and shall ere long appear as King and judge of all) betruſted you in theſe three Nations, having as a manifeſt token thereof put into your hand that iron rod, and to admiration hath ſtrengthened and upheld your arm for the ſubduing, and ordering of the ſame.

There is yet beſides this, another adminiſtration of Christs power on Earth, which compared with this, may be truly termed heavenly and ſpirituall, it being that which ſuiteth with, and principally is exerciſed about the ſpirituall, or hidden part of man, to wit, his ſpirit, mind, and conſcience, which is indeed the moſt naturall Lord and commander of the outward, it and all things belonging thereunto being but naturally ſubject, and readily obedient, from which very conſideration it is, that it is more ſafe, and alſo more honourable, for the powers on earth to have one thouſand ſouls to be ſubject to them for love and conſcience ſake, than to have ten thouſand times ten thouſand bodies ſeemingly ſubject, for wrath ſake, and for fear of revenge; this ſpirit and great commander in man, is ſuch a ſparkling beam, from the Father of lights, and ſpirits, that it cannot be lorded over, commanded, or forced, either by men, devils, or angels, but onely leaving its firſt ſtation, wherein it came ſo neer to the light and glory of God, it is now cauſed to poſſeſſ death and darkneſſ, and by that means is in a capacity by men and devils to be deceived, and ſo by perſwaſion to be miſ-led. This ſpirituall adminiſtration of Christs power in and over the ſpirits and conſciences of men, as it extends to all the inward and hidden motions and actings of the mind, ſo to all the outward manifeſtations of its powerfull commands in the outward man, in reference unto God, and eſpecially unto ſuch as appertain to the viſible worſhip and ſervice of God, who hath declared himſelf to be a Spirit, and will be worſhipped in ſpirit and in truth, and ſeeks ſuch, and onely ſuch to worſhip him: This ſpirituall adminiſtration ſo far as it concerns the outward man, is managed not by a ſword of ſteel (which cannot come

neer or touch the spirit or mind of man) but by the sword that proceeds out of the mouth of his servants, the word of truth, and especially as to the efficacy, and to the inward man, by the two-edged sword of the Spirit, that spirituall law and light with which these candles of the Lord are enlightned, and that by himself, who is that light *that enlightneth every man that comes into the world*; and this spirituall administration of Christs power on earth in and over the spirits, minds, and consciences of the sons of men, and also over the outward man as to worship meerly, is committed into the hands of the Spirit of Christ, who is his *vice-roy* here on earth, and is only able to deal with spirits by way of convincing, converting, transforming, and as it were a-new creating of them, and so to translate them out of the Kingdome of darkness, in which they are by nature, into the glorious liberty of the Saints in light. Who is pleased also to make use of the mouths of his servants, and through them, as empty reeds, and crooked rams-hornes, to overturn the spirits, and spirituall strong holds of men and devils, and by them to convict, avenge, and execute the sentence written, which upon such as manifest the enmity that is in their minds in the highest degree even against the holy Spirit himself (the only sin unpardonable (for all other sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven) I say the written sentence that is to be executed upon such) is *anathema maranatha*, that is, accursed with this intimation, *our Lord cometh*, leaving them untill he meet with them; and otherwise than thus the servants of Christ cannot proceed, having express command not to strive, but to be *patient, apt to teach*, in meekness instructing those that oppose themselves, & to wait if God at any time wil give them repentance to the acknowledgement of the truth; Thus if it please the Father of lights to give you (Right Honorable) to distinguish between these two administrations of Christ's power here on earth, and to leave that part to himself in the hand of his Spirit, which cannot be conferred on others, nor yet rightly managed but by the *two-edged sword of that Spirit*, and wholly give up your selves to improve that part which belongs unto, and well suits with that sword which you are now betruſted with, it will much conduce to his glory, your

own praise, and the peace and settlement of these three Nations, over which the Lord hath set you.

And whereas Right Honorable, it is in your hearts, to propagate the Gospell of Jesus Christ; the thing is excellent that is in your hearts, and I hope the way to effect it is before you, which is, sith the Lord of hoasts hath said, that works of this nature are carried on, *not by might, nor by power, but by his Spirit*, therefore to give way to his Spirit for the effecting thereof: and to this end I humbly propose, that your way to further this glorious design, as to the might and power this Lord of Hoasts hath betruſted you with, is

1. Not so much as to touch his Anointed, and to do his Prophets no harm, their ointment being the Spirit of prophecy, and this Spirit of prophecy the testimony and witness of the Gospel of Jesus. And

2. As obedient and dutifull servants to that Lord of Lords, to suffer the *Tares* (which being by the adversary sown after the *Wheat*, must needs be ment, erroneous, hereticall, and antichristian persons professing the Gospel, I say to let these *tares*) alone in that part of the field, or world, over which the great Lord of the harvest hath placed your Honors; sith it is his pleasure they shall there remain to the time of the harvest, being the end of the world, and that out of his tender respect to the *Wheat*, lest in plucking up the *tares* (though evidently discerned by his servants) the *Wheat* should be rooted up also. And

3. To the same end not to give your sword, or power to the beast nor yet to suffer your power, neither in these three nations, nor yet in any forreign part of the world to be so misused by any to whom 'tis committed, as by vertue thereof out of an ignorant zeal, and blind devotion, pretending to pluck up the tares (which yet is contrary to the expresse mind of the Lord) to root up the wheat also.

4. To countenance and incourage (as through God's mercifull hand on your hearts in some measure you do) such as are faithful, and upright in the land, by this means shall a wide and effectual door be opened, and so shall the word of the Lord, which is the Gospel of Christ go forth, run and be glorified through all those parts of the world that acknowledge your power, and that which

is of God shall stand, encrease and be propagated, and that which is not of God shall fall, decay, and come to nothing. Thus shall you also accomplish the words of the Prophets of old, in becoming *nursing fathers unto the servants, and children of God*, who under you shall lead a peaceable, and quiet life in all godliness, and honesty, and shall be greatly obliged to improve their interest in the father of mercies by their presenting to him constant and earnest petitions, supplications, intercessions, and giving of thanks on your behalf. And for the furtherance of those worthy thoughts of your hearts, they shall not cease to preach, and declare to great, and small what they have seen, and felt, and heard touching the Gospel of Christ, and to pray the lord of the harvest to send forth faithful and painful labourers into his harvest; which is also the constant, hearty, and earnest request of

Your humble and faithful

Subject,

JOHN CLARK.

**To the Honored Magistracy, the Pres-
bytery, and their dependency in the Matha-
tusets Colony in New-England, The
*Author wisheth repentance to the
acknowledgement of the truth
as it is in Jesus Christ.***

HONORED Friends, for so without scruple or dissimulation can I call you ; some of you I honor for your parts, others for your places sake, and both for many good things I see in you, and for evils reformed by you ; I call you friends, for my love to you (in truth) is unfained, neither are there (I bless the Lord notwithstanding the discourteous usage which I and my friends received from you) any evill thoughts in my heart towards you, because I judge you were put upon what you did by a zeal (I would not think, unto private or carnall interests but) towards God, thinking thereby to do him service ; although I confidently believe, and therefore boldly do affirm that his soul abhors it ; And that I may deal plainly with you as a friend, I will tell you what in my heart I think and judge, that such a zeal of God is not according to true knowledge, or knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus Christ, which would soon take you off, and free you from that soul murdering, and blood thirsty lie. I hope you will not be offended to see this Narrative brought forth into the publick view, it being upon the point forst from me by your friends and agent here, seeing also the matter, which is contained therein is of no less than of publick concernment, was not done in a corner, is the fruit of your zeal, and that wherein I suppose you glory and count your selves herein a worthy pattern for all that fear the Lord, to follow you, and with all their might to be conformed to ; which if a truth, I then save

you a labour, and further your design, yea I publish your praise, and glory, but my own disgrace and shame; but if a mistake, and falsehood, I shall then hereby give occasion unto your faithful friends (whose words may be of more prevailing power, and force than mine, through prejudice for present, are like to be) to tell you friendly, and yet plainly, that you do but glory in your shame, so that the time may come, if so be the will of God, that you may smite upon your thigh, and say within yourselves, what fruit had we then of those things, whereof we are now ashamed; neither let it be offensive to your spirits to see my testimony for which thing sake among you we were shamefully entreated, being also strangers to you and belonging to another jurisdiction where and by whose means divers of you, and yours, and such as have been of chiefest note, and most highly esteemed by you, have enjoyed curtesies with far greater liberties in point of conscience no man gainsaying: let it not offend I say to see this testimony when none of you (upon the oft repeated motion) would come forth to oppose it, then to be made yet more publick, and by the word of God, and testimony of Christ Jesus the Lord to be brought forth into the open view of all, confirmed and justified: neither take it ill that sith I could not with freedom, and upon equal terms speak with you, and discuss these points for which we have been sentenced, that then I have made bold to write unto you some few lines, that thereby I might remind you (least you let it slip) that we were brought before you as by a hand from beneath, so not without a speciall, and good hand from above, and that to be a testimony against you in these two weighty particulars; first to bear testimony against your standing with respect to the worship of God appointed by Christ, which in plain terms (for it is not now a time to dissemble seeing the Lord is at hand) is false, and evil, not the order of the Gospel of Christ as you pretend, and therefore disorder, confusion, and that, which in Scripture language is called Babel; And secondly to bear testimony, or witness against that way by which you maintain it, which being chiefly as it appears by carnal weapons, which cannot reach to the heart or spirit of a man, which is the principal part,

and upon the point the whole in the worship of God, without which there is no acceptance with him, this I say must needs also be fals, but yet far worse, it being no way appointed, or approved of Christ, nor yet groundedly expected or practised by Christians who first trusted in Christ, and therefore upon due examination will prove most unchristian, yea Antichristian; I shall use but these two arguments in this place to convince you, The first whereof standeth thus.

That order, and way to maintain it which neither hath precept from Christ, and his Apostles in his last will and testament, nor yet president, or example among those that first trusted in Christ, that order cannot be the order of the Gospel of Christ, nor that way his way to maintain it.

But the order which you call the order of the Gospel of Christ, and the way which you say is his way to maintain it, hath neither precept, nor president in his last will and testament.

The first proposition I suppose none of you can deny, unless you can find a later than that which is called his last will and testament, and as for the second the truth thereof, will as easily appear if you bring your order, and way to maintain it to the precept of Christ, and practise of those that first trusted in him; and first for your order, what precept from Christ, or practise among those that first trusted in him have you for baptizing of infants (who are declared to be but flesh and by nature the Children of wrath one as well as another :) for rantising and sprinkling them, and not baptizing or dipping them; for accepting such as were sprinkled with superstitious hallowed water, and by the hand of as superstitious consecrated a ministry of Antichrist, and for receiving of such as are sprinkled by yourselves to the ordinance of Baptism as you call it, but yet to deny them communion in the Apostles doctrine, and in breaking of bread: And if you cannot find either precept from Christ or his Apostles, or example among those that first trusted in Christ for none of these, then will you be at loss for the rest, and neither, find precept or president for your joining together, or for your imitation of those that first trusted in him in their ministry of continuance together in the Apostles doctrine and

fellowship and breaking of bread, and prayer. And touching your way to maintain it, what have you a precept and president in the last will and testament of Christ for such a gathering together with respect to the order of the Gospel of Christ in the name, and by the leave of the Magistrate, so as to make it a thing unlawful for the servants of Christ to do it, without him, by the civil sword to correct error, heresies, and all false worships, to constrain all Church-members, and such also as are without (and so cannot but by you be looked upon to be without faith, without which it is impossible to please God) outwardly and hypocritically to conform to your worship, or to restrain them in like manner outwardly and hypocritically from enjoying their own, when according to that rule (to which is annexed the promise of peace to such as walk thereby) the greatest Apostacies and Blasphemies (that unpardonable sin itself not excepted) were but punished with a delivery of the person that was guilty thereof unto Satan the God of this world, that he might learn not to blaspheme the God of heaven, and so to leave him to the coming of the Lord who shall come in flaming fire to render vengeance upon such ; and so much is signified by the word *Anathema Maranatha*. And I pray consider whether this be not to place the Magistrate too high, or too low ; too high in case you make him the chief, and upon the point the only Judge in spiritual things (such as appertain to the mystery of godliness that is so great, and such as belong to the mystery of the Kingdome of Christ, that is so wonderful) so as to judge, and determine what is truth, and what is error and heresie, what is the right way of the worship of God who being a spirit hath declared that he will be worshipped in spirit, and in truth, and what is not ; who are the worshippers he seeks for, and who are such as his soul abhors ? and again too low in case you make him but the executioner only of other mens judgements ; which indeed is the ordinary practise. And so I have done with the first argument ; the second stands thus.

2. *Arg.* That order, and way to maintain it which is not only different from, but contrary unto the precept of Christ in his last will and testament, and the practise of

Christians that first trusted in him, that order cannot be the order of the Gospel of Christ, nor that way his way to maintain it. But the order which you call the order of the Gospel of Christ, and the way which you say is his way to maintain it, is not only different from but contrary unto the precept of Christ, and the practise of Christians that first trusted in him.

The first proposition is undeniable, and the second will easily appear to be true if your order, and that way by which you seek to maintain it be brought to and compared with the precept of Christ, and his Apostles, and the example of those churches that first trusted in him; and first compare but your order with either precept, or president; and it will evidently appear not only to be differing from, but contrary unto the order of the Gospel of Christ: for according to the precept of Christ every creature to whom the Gospel was to be preached was by the preaching thereof to be made a disciple before he was to be baptized, and then being so made, and baptized he was to be taught to observe all things which Christ had commanded, which was in reference to a sober, righteous, and godly conversation in the order of his house, according to which precept was the practise of those that first trusted in him, for they, and they only that gladly received the word of salvation by Jesus Christ were baptized, *Acts 2* and they, and all they that were baptized were joined without the leave of the Magistrate, and continued together steadfastly in the Apostles doctrine; and in fellowship, and breaking of bread and prayer: but your joining together not at the command of the Lord, but by the leave of the Magistrate, and your continuing together in imitation of the first Churches, and appointing a ministry before your selves be baptized, and so visibly planted into the death of Christ as they were; and your administring baptism (as you call it) to such as are not the true subjects thereof before they are taught, or made disciples; and after a false manner, viz. by sprinkling, which no way resembles the death, burial, or resurrection of Jesus Christ, being that which his baptisme is appointed to do; and your admitting some unto baptism (as you own it) which you refuse to admit unto breaking of bread, and

your receiving such to breaking of bread, which yet were never baptized with the baptism appointed by Jesus Christ the Lord; and your shutting out the exercise of the gift of prophecy, which in the Church of Christ doth admirably tend to edification; and your introducing a mixt confused way of singing which fills the ear rather with a loud sound of words, than the heart with any thing that is truly edifying, all which is not only differing from, but contrary unto both precept, and president, and so cannot be the order of the Gospel of Christ, and therefore is no better than disorder, confusion, and a part of that which in Scripture language is called Babel. And compare that way by which you maintain it, either with the precept of Christ or with the president of primitive Christians and it will as evidently appear not only to be different from, but contrary unto them both; for first the precept of Christ was to learn of him who was meek and lowly, and to expect trouble, and persecution from others, and not to persecute, neither to force the Jews that would not follow him, nor yet to fire the Samaritans that would not receive him, yea he expressly commands his Servants to let the tares alone with the wheat, and suffers no small inconvenience thereby to avoid a greater, and further declares that the servant of the lord must not strive, but be gentle unto all men, apt to teach (not to strike) patient, in meekness instructing those that oppose themselves, if God peradventure will give them repentance to the acknowledgement of the truth that they may recover themselves out of the snare of the devil who are taken captive by him at his will; according to which precepts of Christ we find the primitive Christians were meek, and gentle, and yet able by sound doctrine both to exhort, and convince the gainsayers, who called not for carnall weapons to mannage their warfare, but declared their weapons were mighty through God, and either by the word and a good conversation wonne men to the acknowledgement of the truth as it is in Jesus, or else left them without excuse together with the world, unto the judgement of the great day of the Lord; but now all men may see that your way is not only different from, but contrary unto this precept of Christ and president of Christians, and therefore cannot

be esteemed any better than unchristian, yet Antichristian.

Let not your adversary and mine (Dear Countreymen) fill your hearts with indignation, and thoughts of revenge against him, who in a faithful discharge of his conscience both towards God, and you, have made bold to deal plainly with you, least my God to whom vengeance belongs, repay it upon you, and smite you with blindness of mind, and hardness of heart that cannot repent, but rather set before your eyes that memorable practice, and worthy pattern of those noble Bereans, and (laying profits, honor and prejudice aside if it be possible) peruse my testimony, and search the scriptures diligently to see whether the things contained therein be so or no; if you find them so, viz. confirmed, and justified by the word of God, and by the testimony of Christ Jesus the Lord, then consider, not I but the Lord from heaven calls upon you to break off your sins by repentance, and let me hereby give you warning to take heed that you dispise not him that speaketh from heaven. As touching the wrong and injury done to us, you having thereby much more wronged your own souls in transgressing the very law, and light of Nations, doing as you would not be done unto, it is in my heart to pittie you rather, and to petition my Lord in heaven not to lay this sin to your charge, than to complain against you, or to petition your lords and ours here on earth for justice herein; no, no, we have better learned Christ than so, having also given up our hearts to be led by his spirit; and to walk in his steps, who when he was reviled, reviled not again, when he suffered, he threatned not, but committed his case to him that judgeth righteously, and who knowes but that the spirit of judgement, and the spirit of burning, hath been, or may be ere long in your hearts, whereby you may be made affectedly sensible, that the cause is the same, or very little differing from this.

A poor innocent traveller passeth along the countrey upon his occasions: a man having strength in his arm findeth him, frames himself offended with him for no cause he hath given him, and because he cannot draw him unto his party, either to rob, or to kill, or to say amen to his practises, he therefore binds him, and casts him into a

pit, and declares himself resolute there to keep him, till he hath his blood, unless he will deliver him his purse; the man either hath not a purse about him, or a heart to deliver it; and being unwilling either to part with his blood, or that the other should be so deeply guilty in taking it from him, he meekly, and earnestly thrice moveth the strong man for a discourse, and humbly entreats him that he would not seek by the strenth of his arme, but by the force of some arguments to convince his understanding, and conscience, and so to draw him (as a man) to his party, but the strong man delaies him, and so puts him off; whereupon a good tender hearted Samaritan passing by, and perceiving how the case stood, and that the strong man would have his purse, or his blood without any dispute, being moved with compassion to redeem this innocent blood from the hand of the strong man he delivers him his own purse, and so the man is released. Take it not ill that I have used so much plainness of speech, for my studie is now to speak plainly, and neither flatteringly nor invectively: and to use plain dealing with all men, although I verifie the Proverb, and die a begger; for as I told some of your selves (and that in publick) I abhor dissimulation, neither can I account him a wise man who doth not hate dissembling, or that doth love to dissemble; and therefore saith *Solomon* rebuke a wise man and he will love thee, &c. and *David* the King saith on this wise, let the righteous smite me and it shall be a precious balm; I know instruction is grievous to him that is out of the way, but what saith the wise man, he that hateth instruction shall die. Consider I pray what hath been spoken, and turn not away your eye, nor your ear, nor your heart from instruction, least that which was said by the prophet of old *Isa.* 9. 14, 15, 16, be in you verified, which to prevent is the humble and earnest request unto the fathers of mercies of

*Your loving friend and
Countreyman*

JOHN CLARK.

To the true Christian Reader.

THOU maist herein (Christian Reader) see, and peruse thy destiny in this present evill world (which seems in a great measure to be subjected unto devils) through which thou art to pass unto that purchased possession, and promised inheritance of the Saints in light, which is in that better world, which is not subjected unto Angels, but unto the Sonne of God himself; thou maist herein also observe, and take notice of the hand by whom from thy heavenly father thou art to receive that bitter cup, which he drunk off when he was here below; for thy sake chiefly was this treatise brought forth into the publick view; I hope not to discourage thee, but to strengthen thine heart, that thou mightest not fear any of those things, which thou shalt suffer, either from men or devils for thy testimony, that Jesus is the Christ (it being that which will shortly appear the only prevailing, and victorious truth in all the world): for herein shalt thou also see that worthy saying lively accomplished; If ye suffer for the name of Christ blessed are ye, for the spirit of the Lord, and of glory resteth upon you; thou hast a worthy name called on thee. My hearts desire, and prayer to God on thy behalf, therefore is that thou maist enjoy such a plentiful pouring forth of that holy spirit into thine heart, that thereby thou maist be enabled to walk worthy of it, and having so bright a beam of the Fathers glory in thy soul, it may so shine forth before the sons of men, that they seeing thy good works may have cause administered to glorify our father, which is in heaven; It is not words now Christian, (although they were spoken with tongues of men and Angels) when that worthy name is every where well spoken of, but faith that works by love, and love by works that will distinguish a heady from a hearty Christian. Say not in thine heart that Christs Comands are low, and his appointments carnall, legal in-

junctions, and at the best, but meat for babes ; least hereby thine heart be declared to be vainly puffed up in thy carnall or fleshly mind, and to have too low, and carnall conceits of Christ himself, who is the injoyner, appointer, and commander thereof, and shall ere long appear as Judge, yea least hereby thou be declared ignorant, or at the best forgetful of this one thing, that it is the great design of God in Christ as to glorifie himself to admiration in poor sinful flesh, so whilest he doth it to hide pride from man, and therefore as he hath chosen not many wise, mighty, nor noble of this world, but the foolish, weak, base, despised nothings thereof, so hath he suited his commands, and appointments thereunto, and intends through these foolish things so to cause his wisdom to shine forth as [thereby to confound the wise ; through these weak things so to cause his power to appear, as thereby to confound the things that are mighty ; and through these base despised things that are not, to bring to nought those noble, glorious, and excellent things of the world that are ; Thou mayst herein see (gentle Reader) that I have rather chosen to bear witness to the faith, and order of our Lord, and to shew unto the world, but especially unto thee, what is the mind of Christ in this time of his absence as to faith, and obedience, to shew I say rather what is truth, which is but one, than to bear witness against the ly, which is so various, knowing that the truth once established shall discover the falshood, and light breaking forth shall scatter the darkness. And whilest I lead thee forth to seek him whom thy soul loveth, and longeth after, who is also thy joy, and thy Crown ; while I lead thee I say by the footsteps of those flocks that first trusted in Christ, and were fed by such pastors according to his own heart, as he gave them, God forbid that thou shouldst be as one that wilt turn aside by the flocks of his companions, and shouldst be found remaining either on the left side in a visible way of worship in deed, but such as was neither appointed by Christ, nor yet practised by them who first trusted in him, or on the right in no visible way of worship, or order at all, either pretending that the outward court is given to the Gentiles, and the holy City is by them to be troden under foot ; that the Church

of Christ is now in the wilderness, and the time of its recovery is not yet, or else pretending that God is a spirit, and so will in spirit be worshipped, and not in this place or that, in this way or that. Well if thou beest in these waies misled I can no longer forbear in tenderness of spirit, and compassionate bowels of love to stretch forth a helping hand thereby to try whether it be the good pleasure of God at this time to drop down a word of light, and life, and power into thine heart, that thou mayest be thereby awakened, and quickened to be still saying within thy soul; Lord what wilt thou have me to do? so shalt thou hear such a saying as this, *Come out from among them (Oh my people) and be ye separate from them, and touch no unsanctified thing, and I will receive you, and be a father unto you, and ye shall be my sons, and daughters,* saith the Lord God Almighty, and also such a saying as this, *Blessed are they that do his commands for they have right to the tree of life, and shall enter in through those gates of pearl into that glorious City;* Rev. 22. 14. and know that these are the commandments of *Jesus sci.* *As ye have received Christ Jesus the Lord, so walk ye in him; and behold I come quickly, hold that fast which thou hast, yea hold fast till I come;* And such as may be under the later disceptions let me intreat thee to ponder these words in thine heart sci. That prophecies although marvelous plain, and easy to be understood, cannot warrant a pure conscience to neglect, much less to cast off the commandments and appointments of Jesus, neither can the spirit of Christ direct or encourage the heart of a Christian to cast off his lordship; no, no, the spirit of Christ is hereby distinguished from that of Antichrist, in that he shall unfainedly confess that Jesus is the Christ, and that this Christ Jesus is come in the flesh, and when he is come according to promise into the heart of a Christian, he shall not speak of himself, but as a messenger his office is to glorifie Christ by taking of him, and his, and shewing it unto, yea writing it in the heart of a Christian, so that I dare boldly say, there is none for the exaltation of Christ Jesus the lord according to his last will and testament, and for the nourishing a lively hope in the heart of a Christian concerning his glorious return, I say there is

none to that holy spirit of promise, who being also the spirit of truth, shall guide the souls of the Saints to worship the father, as in spirit, so likewise in truth; and therefore that spirit that speaks of himself, and is so far from taking of Christs to exalt, and gloryfie him according as he hath foretold and his father intended, that he takes from Christ, laies him low, and diminisheth his glory, that spirit cannot be the spirit of Christ, or that holy spirit of promise; and forasmuch as the spirit speaketh expressly that in these later daies there shall be seducing spirits that *shall deceive if it were possible the very elect of God*, whose incounter will not be so much with flesh and blood, but with wicked spirits in high places, let me therefore exhort thee in the words of that beloved disciple of Christ; *beleive not every spirit, but try the spirits*; and that by this rule, *whether they be of God or no*, bring them to the wholesome words of the holy Apostles, Prophets, and son of God; *ye erre* (saith Christ) *not knowing the scriptures, and the power of God*; let it be thy care (Christian) therefore to search the Scriptures, and therein to wait for the power and glory of the spirit of God. And look to thy spirit for as immediately before Christs appearing in flesh, Satan in a large measure possessed the bodies of men, that by his casting them out, his power in flesh might appear; So before his coming again in glory I have grounds to expect that the minds and spirits of men shall be strongly possessed; and that as this fundamentall conclusion, Thou art Jesus the son of the living God, shall be improved to the utmost by the holy Spirit of Christ in the hearts and lives of the sons and daughters of God, so shall the same conclusion be improved to the utmost by way of a bewitching deception in the hearts and lives of the sons of men by the spirit of Antichrist, which mystery being brought to the height, then shall Christ Jesus consume him with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy him with the brightness of his coming. Therefore (Christian) stand thou upon thy watch, and know, that if Christ be formed in thee, thou canst not but be transformed by him, and the best form that thou canst be found in when thy Lord shall appear, will be in that form, and so doing, as he hath appointed,

walking wisely and in peace toward all men. Consider what hath been spoken to thee, and the God of truth and peace give thee to understand and do his will; which is the constant and earnest supplication and prayer of

thine in Christ Jesus

JOHN CLARK.

A brief discourse touching New England, as to the matter in hand, and to that part of it, sci. Rode Iland, where my residence is, together with the occasion of my going out with others from the Mathatusets Bay, and the many providentiall occurrences that directed us thereto, and pitched us thereon.

As also the Contents of the whole Treatise.

N*ew England* is a name (as is generally known) that was, and still is, call'd upon that place in reference to Old; yet not so much because it is peopled, and planted from thence, for so are many other Plantations of the English in those Western parts; but because it resembles the same, as the daughter the mother. It resembles it in the climate, in the times and seasons of the year, in the fruits which the land naturally produceth, in the fowls, and the fish that are there in abundance. It resembles it in their politicall affairs; for their governments, laws, Courts, Officers, are in a great measure the same, and so are the names of their towns, and Counties; and in point of good husbandry, that w^h is raised and produced in *New England*, more substantiall, and whether it be for food or raiment it is the same with that which is here produced in Old. It is a place (in the largest acceptation) that contains in it all the Plantations of the English upon that coast of *America* that lie between the *Dutch* Plantation on the West, and the *French* on the East; and extends it self upon the Sea coast above one hundred leagues. In it is contained the four Colonies, which call themselves the united Colonies. The Colony called by the name of the *Province of Providence Plantations*, lying on the South and South-East thereof, and two or three more lying on the East or North-East, in *Agamenticus*, *Saco*, *Casco-Bay*, and *Pemaquid*, where is that treasure of

Masts for Ships. The names of the united Colonies are these, in point of precedency first *Mathatusets*, &c. but in point of antiquity first *Plymouth*, then the *Mathatusets*, then *Conectecot*, and last *Quinipiuck*. The chief Towns of these Colonies, and seats of their Government are these, *Boston* of the *Mathatusets*, *Plymouth* of *Plymouth*, *Hereford* of *Conectecot*, and of *Quinipiuck* *New-Haven*.

Now as the name *New England* in the largest and truest acceptation extends to all the Plantations of the English between the *French* and the *Dutch*, so in a scanty and improper acceptance of the word (especially when it makes for advantage) it is taken for these four united Colonies, by reason of the precedency they have of others, and for the same cause, and upon the point as well, it may be taken for the *Mathatusets* and the Town of *Boston* therein.

When I speak of *New England*, understand it of that part which hath got the precedency (by reason of shipping) and start of the rest, *sci.* the *Mathatusets*, as both in my Epistle and Narrative is plain to be seen, which I have here also inserted for fear of mistake.

In the Colony of *Providence Plantations* in point of antiquity the Town of *Providence* is chief, but in point of precedency *Rode-Iland* excels. This Iland lieth in the *Narraganset Bay*, being 14 or 15 miles long, and in breadth between 4 and 5 miles at the broadest; It began to be planted by the *English* in the beginning of the year 39. [36] and by this hand of providence. In the year 37 I left my native land, and in the ninth moneth of the same, I (through mercy) arived at *Boston*, I was no sooner on shore, but there appeared to me differences among them touching the Covenants, and in point of evidencing a mans good estate, some prest hard for the Covenant of works, and for sanctification to be the first and chief evidence, others prest as hard for the Covenant of grace that was established upon better promises, and for the evidence of the Spirit, as that which is a more certain, constant, and satisfactory witness. I thought it not strange to see men differ about matters of Heaven, for I expect no less upon Earth: But to see that they were not able so to bear each with other in their different understandings and con-

sciences, as in those utmost parts of the World to live peaceably together, whereupon I moved the latter, for as much as the land was before us and wide enough, with the profer of *Abraham* to *Lot*, and for peace sake, to turn aside to the right hand, or to the left: The motion was readily accepted, and I was requested wth some others to seek out a place, which accordingly I was ready to do; and thereupon by reason of the suffocating heat of the Summer before, I went to the North to be somewhat cooler, but the Winter following proved so cold, that we were forced in the Spring to make towards the South; so having sought the Lord for direction, we all agreed that while our vessel was passing about a large and dangerous Cape, we would cross over by land, having *Long Island* and *Delaware-Bay* in our eie for the place of our residence; so to a town called *Providence* we came, which was begun by one *M. Roger Williams* (who for matter of conscience had not long before been exiled from the former jurisdiction) by whom we were courteously and lovingly received, and with whom we advised about our design; he readily presented two places before us in the same *Naragansets Bay*, the one upon the main called *Sow-wames*, the other called then *Acquedneck*, now *Rode-Island*; we enquired whether they would fall in any other Patent, for our resolution was to go out of them all; he told us (to be brief) that the way to know that, was to have recourse unto *Plymouth*; so our Vessell as yet not being come about, and we thus blockt up, the company determined to send to *Plymouth*, and pitcht upon two others together with myself, requesting also *M. Williams* to go to *Plymouth* to know how the case stood; so we did; and the Magistrates thereof very lovingly gave us a meeting; I then informed them of the cause of our coming unto them, and desired them in a word of truth and faithfulness to inform us whether *Sow-wames* were within their Patent, for we were now on the wing, and were resolved through the help of Christ, to get cleer of all, and be of ourselves, and provided our way were cleer before us, it were all one for us to go further off, as to remain neer at hand; their answer was, that *Sow-wames* was the garden of their Patent, and the flour in the garden; then I told

them we could not desire it; but requested further in the like word of truth and faithfulness to be informed, whether they laid claim to the Ilands in the *Naraganset Bay*, and that in particular called *Acquedneck*? they all with a cheerfull countenance made us this answer, it was in their thoughts to have advised us thereto, and if the provident hand of God should pitch us thereon they should look upon as free, and as loving neighbours and friends should be assistant unto us upon the main, &c. So we humbly thanked them, and returned with that answer: So it pleased the Lord, by moving the hearts of the natives, even the chiefest thereof, to pitch us thereon, and by other occurrences of providence, which are too large here to relate: So that having bought them off to their full satisfaction, we have possessed the place ever since; and notwithstanding the different understandings and consciences amongst us, without interruption we agree to maintain civil Justice and judgement, neither are there such outrages committed amongst us as in other parts of the Country are frequently seen.

The Narrative declares

1. How those three strangers were apprehended, imprisoned, sentenced, and for what.
2. How the motion was made for a publique dispute, often repeated and promised, and yet disapointed.
3. How two escaped, and the third was cruelly handled.
4. How two, for taking him but by the hand after his punishment, were apprehended, imprisoned, and sentenced to pay forty shillings or be whipped.

In their Testimony laid down in four conclusions, is opened and proved

In the first, 1. That Jesus is the Christ, [i. e.] the Anointed Priest, Prophet, and King of Saints. 2. That Christ is also the Lord of his Church in point of ruling and ordering them with respect to the worship of God.

In the Second, 1. That Baptism is one of the commandments of Christ, and to continue till he come. 2. That visible Believers are the proper subjects thereof. 3. That

they are as well to wait for the promise of the Spirit, as for the presence of Christ.

In the Third, That every believer ought to improve his talent both in and out of the Congregation.

In the Fourth, That no servant of Jesus hath any authority from him to force upon others either the faith or order of the Gospel of Christ. Wherin are produced 8 arguments against persecution for case of Conscience.

A Faithfull and True Relation of the Prosecution of Obediah Holmes, John Crandall, and John Clarke, meerly for Conscience towards God, by the Principall Members of the Church, or Common-wealth of the Mathatusets in New-England, which rules over that part of the World; whereby is shewn their discourteous Entertainment of Strangers, and how that Spirit by which they are led, would order the whole World, if either brought under them, or should come in unto them: Drawn forth by the aforesaid John Clarke, not so much to answer the Importunity of Friends, as to stop the mouthes, and slanderous reports of such as are Enemies to the Cross of Christ. Let him that readeth it consider, which Church is most like the Church of Christ (that Prince of Peace, that meek and gentle Lamb, that came into this World to save Mens lives, not to destroy them,) the Persecuted, or Persecuting.

IT came to pass that we three, by the good hand of our God, came into the *Mathatusets* Bay upon the 16 day of the 5th Moneth, 51; and upon the 19th of the same, upon occasion of businesse, we came unto a Town in the same Bay called *Lin*, where we lodged at a Blind-mans house neer two miles out of the Town, by name *William Witter*, who being baptized into Christ waits, as we also doe, for the Kingdom of God, and the full consolation of the *Israel* of God: Vpon the 20th day, being the first day of the week, not having freedom in our Spirits for want of a clear Call from God to goe unto the Publike Assemblie to declare there what was the mind, and counsell of God concerning them, I judged it was a thing suitable to consider what the counsell of God was concerning ourselves; and finding by sad experience, that the hour of temptation spoken of was coming upon all the World (in a more eminent way) to try them that are upon the Earth, I fell upon the consideration of that Word of Promise, made to those that keep the Word of his Patience, which present thoughts, while in Conscience towards God, and good will unto his Saints, I was impart-

ing to my Companions in the house where I lodged, and to 4, or 5 Strangers, that came in unexpected after I had begun, opening, and proving what is meant by the hour of Temptation, what by the Word of his patience, and their keeping it, and how he that hath the Key of *David* (being the Promiser) will keep those that keep the word of his Patience from the hour of Temptation ; while I say I was yet speaking, there comes into the house where we were, two Constables, who with their clamorous tongues made an interruption in my Discourse, and more uncivilly disturbed us, than the Pursivants of the old *English* Bishops were wont to doe ; telling us, that they were come with Authority from the Magistrate to apprehend us ; I then desired to see the Authority by which they thus proceeded, whereupon they pluckt forth their Warrant, and one of them with a trembling hand (as conscious he might have been better employed) read it to us ; The substance whereof was as followeth.

By virtue hereof, you are required to go to the house of *William Witter*, and so to search from house to house, for certain erronious persons, being Strangers, and them to apprehend, and in safe custody to keep, and to morrow morning by eight of the Clock to bring before me,

Robert Bridges.

When he had read the Warrant, I told them, Friends, there shall not be (I trust) the least appearance of a resisting of that Authority by which you come unto us ; yet I tell you, that by virtue hereof you are not so strictly tyed, but if you please, you may suffer us to make an end of what we have begun, so may you be Witnesses either to, or against the Faith, and Order which we hold ; to which they answered they could not ; then said we, notwithstanding the Warrant, or any thing therein contained, you may ; neverthelesse, if you are streightened in respect of your understandings and consciences in point of hearing, doe but withdraw your selves before the door, the time will not be long ; which when they refused, we told them, then here we are, let our Lord doe with us what he please : So (although there were that profered to be bound body and goods for our appearance before Mr. *Bridges* the

next morning, according to the Warrant) they apprehended us, and carried us away to the Ale-house or Ordinary; where after Dinner one of them said unto us, Gentlemen, if you be free I will carry you to the Meeting; to whom was replied, Friend, had we been free thereunto we had prevented all this; Neverthelesse, we are in thy hand, and if thou wilt carry us to the Meeting, thither will we goe; to which he answered, then will I carry you to the Meeting. To this we replied, because we perceive thou hast not long been imployed in thine Office, and that may follow hereupon which thou expectest not, we will inform thee, That if thou forcest us unto your Assembly, then shall we be constrained to declare our selves, that we cannot hold Communion with them; the Constable answered, that is nothing to me, I have not power to command you to speak, when you come there, or to be silent; to this I again replied, (Friend) know a little further; Since we have heard the word of Salvation by Iesus Christ, we have been taught as those that first trusted in Christ, to be obedient unto him both by word and deed; wherefore if we be forc'd to your Meeting, we shal declare our dissent from you both by word and gesture; after all this, when he had consulted with the man of the house, he told us he would carry us to the Meeting, so to their Meeting were we brought, while they were at their prayers and uncovered; and at my first stepping over the threshold I unveiled my self, civilly saluted them, turned into the Seat I was appointed to, put on my hat again, and so sat down, opened my Book, and fell to reading: hereupon Mr. *Bridges* being troubled, commanded the Constable to pluck off our hats, which he did, and where he laid mine, there I let it lye, untill their Prayer, Singing, and Preaching was over; After this I stood up, and uttered myself in these words following; I desire as a Stranger, if I may, to propose a few things to this Congregation, hoping in the proposall thereof I shall commend myself to your Consciences to be guided by that wisdom that is from above, which being pure, is also peaceable, gentle, and easie to be intreated, and therewith I made a stop, expecting, if the Prince of Peace had been among them, I should have had a suitable answer of

Peace from them ; but no other voice I heard, but of their Pastor, as he is call'd, and their Magistrate ; Their Pastor answered by way of Quaery, Whether I was a Member of a Church ? &c. Before I could give an answer Mr. *Bridges* spake, saying, if the Congregation please to give you leave, well, if not, I shall require you silence, for, said he, we will have no Objections made against what is delivered, &c. To which I answered, I am not about for present to make Objections against what is delivered, but as by my gesture at my coming into your Assembly I declared my dissent from you, so lest that should prove offensive unto some whom I would not offend, I would now by word of mouth declare the grounds, which are these ; First, from the consideration we are Strangers each to other, and so Strangers to each others inward standing with respect to God, and so cannot conjoyn and act in Faith, and what is not of Faith, is Sin : And in the second place, I could not judge that you are gathered together, and walk according to the visible order of our Lord ; which when I had declared, Mr. *Bridges* told me I done and spoke that for which I must answer, and so commanded me silence : when their meeting was done, the Officers carryed us again to the Ordinary, where being watched over that night, as Theeves and Robbers, we were the next morning carried before Mr. *Bridges*, who made our *Mittimus*, and sent us to the Prison at *Boston* ; The words of the *Mittimus* are these.

To the Keeper of the Prison at *Boston*.

By virtue hereof you are required to take into your custody from the Constable of *Lin*, or his Deputy, the bodies of *Iohn Clark*, *Obediah Holmes*, and *Iohn Crandall*, and them to keep, untill the next County Court to be held at Boston, that they may then and there answer to such complaints as may be alleged against them, for being taken by the Constable at a Private Meeting at *Lin* upon the Lords day, exercising among themselves, to whom divers of the Town repaired, and joyned with them, and that in the time of Publick exercise of the Worship of God ; as also for offensively disturbing the peace of the Congregation at their coming into the Publique Meeting

in the time of Prayer in the afternoon, and for saying and manifesting that the Church of *Lin* was not constituted according to the order of our Lord, &c. for such other things as shall be alleged against them, concerning their seducing and drawing aside of others after their erroneous judgements and practices, and for suspition of having their hands in the re-baptizing of one, or more among us, as also for neglecting or refusing to give in sufficient security for their appearance at the said Court; hereof fail not at your perill, 22. 5. 51.

Rob. Bridges.

We being by virtue hereof committed to prison, upon the 5th. day sevensnight after were brought to our tryall; in the forenoon we were examined, in the afternoon, without producing either accuser, witness, jury, law of God, or man, we were Sentenced; in our examination the Governour upbraided us with the name of Anabaptists; To whom I answered, I disown the name, I am neither an Anabaptist, nor a Pedobaptist, nor a Catabaptist; he told me in hast I was all; I told him he could not prove us to be either of them; he said, yes, you have Re-baptized; I denyed it saying, I have Baptized many, but I never Re-baptized any; then said he, you deny the former Baptism, and make all our worship a nullity; I told him he said it; moreover I said unto them (for therefore do I conceive I was brought before them to be a testimony against them) If the Testimony which I hold forth be true, and according to the mind of God, which I undoubtedly affirm it is, then it concernes you to look to your standing. The like to this affirmed the other two; so after much discourse we were committed again to prison, and in the afternoon towards night, we were called forth again, and immediately after the Court was set, my sentence was read, which was as followeth.

The Sentence of Iohn Clarke of Road-Iland. 31. 5. 51.

Forasmuch as you *Iohn Clarke*, being come into this Jurisdiction about the 20th. of Iuly, did meet at one *William Witters* house at *Lin*, upon the Lords day, and there did take upon you to Preach to some other of the

Inhabitants of the same Town, and being there taken by the Constable, and coming afterward into the Assembly at *Lin*, did in disrespect of the Ordinances of God and his Worship, keep on your Hat, (the Pastor being then in Prayer) insomuch you would not give reverence in valing your Hat till it was forced off your head, to the disturbance of the Congregation, and professing against the institution of the Church, as not being according to the Gospell of Iesus Christ; And that you the said *Iohn Clarke* did upon the day following meet again at the said *Witters*, and in contempt to Authority, you being then in the custody of the Law, and did there administer the Sacrament of the Supper to one excommunicate person, to another under admonition, and to another that was an Inhabitant of *Lin*, and not in fellowship with any Church; and upon your answer in open Court, you affirmed that you did never Re-baptize any, yet did acknowledge you did Baptize such as were Baptized before, and thereby did necessarily deny the Baptism that was before to be Baptism, the Churches no Churches, and also all other Ordinances, and Ministers, as if all were a Nullity; And also did in the Court deny the lawfullness of Baptizing of Infants, and all this tends to the dishonour of God, the despising the ordinances of God among us, the peace of the Churches, and seducing the Subjects of this Commonwealth from the truth of the Gospel of Iesus Christ, and perverting the strait waies of the Lord, therefore the Court doth fine you 20 pounds to be paid, or sufficient sureties that the said sum shall be paid by the first day of the next Court of Assistants, or else to be well whipt, and that you shall remain in Prison till it be paid, or security given in for it.

By the Court, ENCREASE NOWELL.

After my sentence was read, the Sentence of the other two were likewise pronounced; the Sentence of *Obediah Holmes* was to pay by the aforesaid time 30 li. or be well whipt; and the sentence of *Iohn Crandall* was to pay 5 pounds, or be well whipt; this being done, I desired to know whether I might not speak a few things to the Court, to which the Governour replied, your sentence is

past. I told him that which I was to speak was in reference unto a promise that was made us by Mr. *Bridges* when we were first apprehended, and brought before him; then said the Governour speak on; When we were at first apprehended and brought before Mr. *Bridges* (said I) I said unto him we are Strangers, and Strangers to your Laws, and may be transgressors of them before we are aware, we would therefore desire this curtesy of you as Strangers, that you would shew us the Law by which we are transgressors: But then no other answer could we have from him than this, when you come to the Court you shall know the Law; now we have been before the Court in the forenoon upon examination, this afternoon we have heard our Sentence read, yet have we not heard the Law produced by which we are condemned; we therefore now desire to see the Law in which our Sentence may be read, and the rather, because we find in the beginning of your Laws this provision for the security of your own, and we hope you are not less regardfull of strangers, *viz.* That no man shall be molested, but by a Law made by the generall Court, and lawfully published, or in defect of a Law in a particular case, by the Word of God. When this was spoken Mr. *Bridges* could easily turn to the Law by which we might be freed, but none were able to turn to the Law of God or Man by which we were condemned. At length the Governour stept up, and told us we had denied Infants Baptism, and being somewhat transported broke forth, and told me I had deserved death, and said, he would not have such trash brought into their jurisdiction; moreover he said, you go up and down, and secretly insinuate into those that are weak, but you cannot maintain it before our Ministers, you may try, and discourse or dispute with them, &c. To this I had much to reply, but that he commanded the Taylor to take us away; so the next morning having so fair an opportunity, I made a motion to the Court in these words following.

To the Honoured Court Assembled at Boston.

Whereas it pleased this Honoured Court yesterday to condemn the Faith, and Order which I hold and practise, and after you had past your Sentence upon me for it, were

pleased to expresse, I could not maintain the same against your Ministers, and thereupon publickly profered me a dispute with them, be pleased by these few lines to understand, I readily accept it, and therefore do desire you would appoint the time when, and the person with whom, in that publick place where I was condemned, I might with freedom, and without molestation of the Civill Power dispute that point publickly where I doubt not by the strength of Christ to make it good out of his last Will and Testament, unto which nothing is to be added, nor from which nothing is to be diminished; thus desiring the Father of Lights to shine forth, and by his power to expel the darkness, I remain,

Your well wisher,

From the Prison this 1. 6. 51.

John Clarke.

This motion if granted, I desired it might be subscribed by their Secretaries hand, as an Act of the same Court by which we were condemned.

It was presented on the sixth day, and after much ado upon the last day it was concluded it should be granted, and the disputation should be upon the fifth day following, and so by one of the Magistrates information was given me in prison; upon the second day when their Elders were come together, there was no small stir (as I heard) about the businesse, and afterward about the stating of the Question we should dispute upon; whereupon in the closure of the day the Magistrates commanded the Iaylor to bring me before them into the Chamber, which when he had done, they drew forth the motion, and shewing it to me, asked me if I owned that paper, I answered, yea, they quaeried further, whether I was of the same mind touching a disputation, I told them I had not the least reluctancy in my mind touching the thing, provided my motion might be granted, and the grant subscribed with the Secretaries hand as an act of the same Court by which I was condemned; they answered that was but reasonable, &c. Then they demanded of me what the question was that I would dispute upon, whether I would dispute upon the things contained in my Sentence, and maintain my practice, for, said they, the Court Sentenced you not for your judgement or Conscience, but for matter of fact, and

practice; to which I replyed, you say the Court condemned me for matter of fact, and practice; be it so, but I say that matter of fact and practice was but the manifestation of my judgement and conscience; and I make account that man is void of judgement, and conscience, with respect unto God, that hath not a fact, and practice suitable thereunto; and for the things contained in my Sentence, they are rather collections, which the Court was pleased to make and draw from my words, than my words, themselves; nevertheless I do not say they were unduly collected; for in truth, if the Faith and order which I profess do stand by the word of God, then the Faith and order which you profess must needs fall to the ground; and if the way you walk in remain, then the way that I walk in must vanish away, they cannot both stand together; to which they seem to assent; therefore I told them, that if they please to grant the motion under the Secretaries hand, I would draw up the Faith, and order, which I hold as the sum of that I did deliver in open Court, into three or four Conclusions, which Conclusions I will stand by, and defend untill he, whom you shall appoint, shall by the word of God remove me from them; in case he shall remove me from them, then the disputation is at an end, but if not, then I desire like liberty by the word of God to oppose the Faith, and order, which he and you profess, thereby to try whether I may be an instrument in the hand of God to remove you from the same; they told me the motion was very fair, and the way like unto a disputant, and thereupon concluded in my hearing, and directed also their speech to me, saying, because the matter is weighty, and we desire that what can, may be spoken, when the disputation shall be; therefore would we take a longer time; whereas therefore the time appointed was the next fift day, by reason of the commencement, which will be the next week, and the meeting of the Elders, we must defer it now untill the fift day come fortnight; and so I told them (to be brief) I was their prisoner, and should attend their pleasure; so I returned with my keeper to prison again, drew up the Conclusions, which I was resolved through the strength of Christ to stand in defence of, and through the impor-

tunity of one of the Magistrates, the next morning very early, I shewed them to him, having a promise I should have my motion for a dispute granted, under the Secretaries hand.

The Conclusions were as followeth.

The Testimony of *John Clarke* a prisoner of Iesus Christ at *Boston* in the behalf of my Lord, and of his people, is as followeth.

1. I Testifie that Iesus of *Nazareth* whom God hath raised from the dead, is made both *Lord* and *Christ*; This Iesus I say is the *Christ*, in English, the *Anointed One*, hath a name above every name; He is the *Anointed Priest*, none to, or with him in point of attonement; The *Anointed Prophet*, none to him in point of instruction; The *Anointed King*, who is gone unto his Father for his glorious Kingdom, and shall ere long return again; and that this Iesus Christ is also *The Lord*, none to or with him by way of Commanding and ordering (with respect to the worship of God) the household of Faith, which being purchased with his Blood as *Priest*, instructed, and nourished by his spirit as *Prophet*, do wait in his appointment as he is the *Lord*, in hope of that glorious Kingdom which shall ere long appear.

2. I Testifie that Baptism, or dipping in Water, is one of the Commandements of this Lord Iesus Christ, and that a visible beleever, or Disciple of Christ Iesus (that is, one that manifesteth repentance towards God, and Faith in Iesus Christ) is the only person that is to be Baptized, or dipped with that visible Baptism, or dipping of Iesus Christ in Water, and also that visible person that is to walk in that visible order of his House, and so to wait for his coming the second time in the form of a *Lord*, and *King* with his glorious Kingdom according to promise, and for his sending down (in the time of his absence) the holy Ghost, or holy Spirit of Promise, and all this according the last Will and Testament of that living Lord, whose Will is not to be added to, or taken from.

3. I Testifie or Witness, that every such believer in Christ Iesus, that waiteth for his appearing, may in point of liberty, yea ought in point of duty to improve that

Talent his Lord hath given unto him, and in the Congregation may either aske for information to himself; or if he can, may speak by way of Prophecie for the edification, exhortation, and comfort of the whole, and out of the Congregation at all times, upon all occasions, and in all places, as far as the jurisdiction of his Lord extends, may, yea ought to walk as a Child of light, justifying wisdom with his ways, and reprovng folly with the unfruitfull works thereof, provided all this be shown out of a good conversation, as *Iames* speaks with meekness of wisdom.

4. I Testifie that no such believer, or Servant of Christ Jesus hath any liberty, much less Authority, from his Lord, to smite his fellow servant, nor yet with outward force, or arme of flesh, to constrain, or restrain his Conscience, no nor yet his outward man for Conscience sake, or worship of his God, where injury is not offered to the person, name or estate of others, every man being such as shall appear before the judgment seat of Christ, and must give an account of himself to God, and therefore ought to be fully perswaded in his own mind, for what he undertakes, because he that doubteth is damned if he eat, and so also if he act, because he doth not eat or act in Faith, and what is not of Faith is Sin.

These Conclusions being seen at least by one of the Magistrates, notwithstanding the Message to the prison, answer to my self in the Chamber, promise by him that came for the Conclusions, common report abroad that a disputation was granted, the Court broke up, and did nothing; and the next second day following, a Messenger was sent to the prison from the Magistrate, with a release to the keeper, which having received he speedily put me forth; The words of the release follow.

To the Keeper of the prison.

By Virtue hereof you are to release and set at liberty the Body of Mr. *Iohn Clarke*, and this shall be your discharge for so doing. Given under my hand the 11th. of the 6th. Month, 1651.

WILLIAM HIBBINS.

To be brief, &c. Vnderstanding that some friends had laid down the Money, although contrary to my Counsell, when formerly at severall times, and by severall persons I was moved thereunto, and perceiving now that the Countries expectation (which was not a little raised) touching a disputation was utterly frustrate, and being sensible that it was an easy matter to lay the blame on me, being a person condemned, and also absent, I drew up the former motion, and added thereunto these words following.

Whereas through the indulgency of tender hearted friends, without my consent, and contrary to my judgment, the Sentence, and Condemnation of the Court at Boston (as is reported) have been fully satisfied on my behalf, and thereupon a Warrant hath been procured by which I am secluded the place of my imprisonment, by reason whereof I see no other call for present but to my habitation, and to those neer relations which God hath given me there, yet lest the cause should hereby suffer, which I profess is Christs, I would hereby signifie, that if yet it shall please the honoured Magistrates, or generall Court of this Colony, to grant my former request under their Secretaries hand, I shall cheerfully imbrace it, and upon your motion shall through the help of God come from the Iland to attend it, and hereunto I have subscribed my name,

11th. 6. 51.

John Clarke.

Both these the next morning I delivered to the keeper to deliver to the Magistrates, who were to meet at the Commencement at *Cambridge*, which being accordingly performed it was noised abroad the motion was granted, and the writing was in Mr. *Cottons* hand, who was thereby judged to be the man, and best of all approved of by my self for that same purpose, he being the inventor and supporter of that way, in these parts, wherein they walk, and thereupon I took the thing for granted, and to that purpose wrot to my friends who sent to visit me in prison, but upon the fift day, a little before their Lecture at *Boston*, I received a writing subscribed with five of the Magistrates hands, which when I had perused, and saw that they waved the motion, and instead thereof laid two or

three snares before me, I drew up an Answer to their Writing, being hopeless of a disputation, desired the Taylor to deliver it to the Magistrates, took my leave of my friends, and so departed to go towards the Iland, having ten miles that night to travell. Here followeth their Writing, and my Answer also.

Mr. John Clarke,

We conceive you have mis-reported the Governours speech in saying you were challenged to dispute with some of our Elders, whereas it was plainly exprest, that if you would confer with any of them, they were able to satisfie you, neither were you able to maintain your practice to them by the word of God, all which was intended for your information, and conviction privately; neither were you enjoyned to what you then were Counsell'd unto; nevertheless, if you are forward to dispute, and that you will move it yourself to the Court, or the Magistrates about *Boston*, we shall take order to appoint one who will be ready to Answer your motion, you keeping close to the questions to be propounded by your self, and a moderator shal be appointed also to attend upon that service; & whereas you desire you might be free in your dispute, keeping close to the points to be disputed on, without incurring damage by the Civill Iustice, observing what hath been before written, it is granted; the day may be agreed if you yeeld the premisses.

John Indicott, Governour.

11th. of the 6th. 1651. *Tho. Dudley*, Deputy Govern.

Rich. Bellingham.

William Hibbins.

Encrease Nowel.

My Answer followeth, superscribed,

To the Honoured Governour of the *Mathatusets*, and the rest of that Honorable Society, these present.

Worthy Senators,

I Received a writing subscribed with 5 of your hands by way of answer to a twice-repeated motion of mine before you, which was grounded as I conceive sufficiently upon the Governours words in open Court; which writing

of yours doth no way answer my expectation, nor yet that motion which I made, and whereas (waving that grounded motion) you are "pleased to intimate, That if I were forward to dispute, and would move it myself to the Court, "or Magistrates about *Boston*, you would appoint one to "answer my motion, &c. Be pleased to understand, That although I am not backward to maintain the Faith, and Order of my Lord the King of Saints, for which I have been Sentenced, yet am I not, in such a way so forward to dispute, or move therein, least inconvenience should thereby arise, I shall rather once more repeat my former motion, which if it shall please the Honoured General Court to accept, and under their Secretaries hand shall grant a free dispute without molestation or interruption, I shall be so well satisfied therewith, that what is past I shall forget, and upon your motion shall attend it; Thus desiring the Father of Mercies not to lay that evill to your charge,

From Prison this
14. 6. 51.

I remain your Well-wisher,
John Clarke.

This Answer with the motion for a dispute upon these fair termes the third time repeated, (being a thing also generally desired, and longed for) was (as I said before) by me delivered to the Keeper, and by him presented to the Magistrates, and so to the General Court, yet was there no answer returned: what made the obstruction considering the equity of the Case, the former consent and grant of the Magistrates, and the peoples earnest desire thereof, I know not, neither will I too readily conclude (lest it should savor of prejudice) that it was either an apprehension it would be disgracefull, first to Iudge and Condemn the persons, and afterward to have the matter examined, or else a fear and jealousie lest upon the examination thereof by the word of God (which is a quick & powerful divider asunder of the Soul and Spirit, and of the joynts, & marrow, and a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart) their standing (in reference to the worship of God) should appear false, and evill, and the way by w^{ch} they maintayn the same with a forcing of others thereto, should appear far worse; surely, the stand-

ers by, and such, whose minds are dis-engaged in the businesse will aptly conclude, and not without probable grounds, that the utmost they can say for themselves, and to stop the mouth of him that is contrary minded, lyes in the Sword and power of the Magistrate, which although it be a good Ordinance of God in this present evill World, to restrain the oppressor, and let the oppressed goe free, and so approved and owned by Christ and all true Christians, in case of wrong and wicked lewdnesse, as *Gallio* expresseth it, yet was it never appointed by Christ, (to whom all power, not only in Earth, but also in Heaven, is committed, and by whom all Earthly powers are to be judged, in that day in which he shall judge the World in righteousnesse; I say it was never appointed by Christ) to inform and rectifie the minds and consciences of men in the worship of God, in that great mystery of Godliness, and in those mysticall matters concerning the Kingdom of Christ, that being a matter that onely belongs to the Holy Spirit of Promise, and to the Sword of that Spirit, which is the Word (not of man, but) of God, to effect; much lesse to conform their outward man, contrary to their minds and consciences in the Worship of God; and therefore that Sword and Power ought to take heed how they meddle herein (lest they attempt to take the place, & enter upon the Throne and Kingdom of Christ) either to force such as be conceived to be true Worshipers, to the true Worship, and service of God, for it is written, Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit saith the Lord of Hosts. And again, In the day of thy power, thy people shall be a willing people; much lesse to force such as are no Worshipers, or false, to that Worship which is true, and yet much lesse to force false, to that which is false, or true, to that which is false; and hence it is, that although the Kings of the Earth have been deceived, and through the righteous judgment of God have given their power to the Beast, to their own dishonour and detriment, who have improved the same to bear up the Whore, and to bear down and crush the Spouse of the Lamb, so that *Babel* hath for a long time rejoyced, and *Sion* hath mourned; yet when the time appointed is come, at the voyce of her King *Sion* shall

deliver herself from the Daughter of *Babel*, though all the powers of this World seek to withstand it; neither shall the gates of Hell prevail against it: for it is written concerning those that keep the Commandements of God, and the Testimony of Iesus, that they overcame him (scil. that great Red Dragon called the Devill and Satan, who also gave his power to the Beast, they overcame him I say) by the Blood of that Lamb, and by that word of their Testimony, and they loved not their lives unto the death.

Now touching *John Crandall* aforesaid, to whose charge they had also nothing to lay, but his being with us, owning the same Faith, and Order of the Gospell, and therefore refusing to stoop to that likenesse thereto, which they had set up; yet as is said, they sentenced him to pay 5 pounds by the next Court of Assistants, or else to be well whipt. Whereupon the day following he inquired of the Keeper, when that Court of Assistants would be, (being resolved not to chuse his punishment, they being not able to make it appear by the Law of God or Man that he was a Transgressor so to be punished) and being by him informed that it would be a quarrier of a yeer before that time came; and also, that if he were so resolved, he might put in Bail for his appearance at the time aforesaid, and so depart, he forthwith put in Bail, and so departed to visit his Family, being distant from thence threescore and ten miles. He was no sooner at home, but his Spirit was unsatisfied in what he had done, in leaving us behind in the Prison, though with our consent and counsell he did what he did; whereupon, leaving his Harvest upon the spoyl, within a few dayes he returned to us again, and tendered his person unto the Keeper, who refused it, saying, Since your departure I perceive your Sentence is, That you should not depart the Prison, without either paying the money, or putting in security for the payment of it; wherefore now either you or your Surety must pay it. To whom Brother *Crandall* replied, you informed me otherwise before I went, and upon other termes I departed, wherefore for my own part I am resolved I will not pay it, and for my Surety he is at his liberty, being no otherwise bound, than for my appearance, and here I

am, and am your Prisoner ; neverthesse when I was released, and turned out of Prison, and could no longer upon that account there remain, I counselled him to put the matter quite out of doubt, wherefore he said to the Iaylor, Let me know what I shall trust to, for if you accept me upon the former account, well, I shall willingly tarry, and remain your Prisoner, but if not, I shall now repair home with my Friend to my Family ; so after the Iaylor had advised with the Magistrate, he friendly told him, If he would promise to appear at the time appointed, he would take his word, become his Surety, and he might be gone ; whereupon I being doubtfull, though he was confident concerning the time (there being an other Court between) desired him to send us certain word to the Iland, when that Court of Assistants would be ; so having his promise, we thankfully accepted his kindnesse, & so departed : And being at home we waited for a word from the Keeper for a return, but the first word we heard touching that matter, was, that the Court was past (which was that Court I suspected) & that Brother *Holmes* had had his tryal by cruel scourgings, & that the Iaylor being Brother *Crandals* Surety, by reason of his non-appearance was constrained to pay the money ; hereupon not long after Brother *Crandall* went to *Boston*, and charged the Iaylor with his mis-information, and neglect of his promise ; and moreover declared that he had told him, That being Innocent, he would not make himself a Transgressor by chusing his punishment, and therefore had resolved, as he also knew, not to pay them a penny ; and further he told him, that there was no necessity he should lay down the money, it being but through a mistake, and he being but Surety, when the Principall was present ; and was able through the strength of Christ to answer the penalty : and thus having argued the case with the Iaylor, he left him without any grounds of hope to have it repaid, neverthesse if advantage will be so strictly taken upon the Keepers mistake, neither Conscience nor Equity will suffer us (it appearing to be a meer mistake, and no plotted thing) not to suffer him to bear it, and thus it appears how a second came off, and escaped a scourging : Now as concerning the third, by name *Obe-*

diah Holmes, what is laid to his charge this Sentence under their Secretaries hand (a Copy whereof is here under written) will plainly expresse.

The Sentence of Obediah Holmes of Seacuck, the 31 of the 5th M. 1651.

Forasmuch as you *Obediah Holmes*, being come into this Iurisdiction about the 21 of the 5th M. did meet at one *William Witters* house at *Lin*, and did hear privately (and at other times being an Excommunicate person did take upon you to Preach and to Baptize) upon the Lords day, or other dayes, and being taken then by the Constable, and coming afterward to the Assembly at *Lin*, did in disrespect of the Ordinance of God and his Worship, keep on your hat, the Pastor being in Prayer, insomuch that you would not give reverence in veiling your hat, till it was forced off your head to the disturbance of the Congregation, and professing against the Institution of the Church, as not being according to the Gospell of Iesus Christ, and that you the said *Obediah Holmes* did upon the day following meet again at the said *William Witters*, in contempt to Authority, you being then in the custody of the Law, and did there receive the Sacrament, being Excommunicate, and you did Baptize such as were Baptized before, and thereby did necessarily deny the Baptism that was before administred to be Baptism, the Churches no Churches, and also other Ordinances, and Ministers, as if all were a Nullity; And also did deny the lawfullness of Baptizing of Infants, and all this tends to the dishonour of God, the despising the ordinances of God among us, the peace of the Churches, and seducing the Subjects of this Commonwealth from the truth of the Gospel of Iesus Christ, and perverting the strait waies of the Lord, the Court doth fine you 30 pounds to be paid, or sufficient sureties that the said sum shall be paid by the first day of the next Court of Assistants, or else to be well whipt, and that you shall remain in Prison till it be paid, or security given in for it.

By the Court, ENCREASE NOWELL.

And now because his sufferings, and the scence which

his Soul felt of the Lords Support, according to promise, is affectionately set forth, and commended as a token of his love, in a Letter written with his own hand, and sent unto those that have obtained like precious faith in *London*, or elsewhere, whereby by an experiment which God hath been pleased to give to him, and us, they may evidently discern, that Iesus Christ is in point of tender compassions touching those that confess his name before the Sonnes of men, the same to day that he was yesterday; that as yesterday, so to day it may be said, as the sufferings of Christ abound in us, so our consolation also aboundeth by Christ, so that they which keep the commandements of God, and Testimony of Iesus Christ, may be hereby incouraged to fear none of those things which they shall suffer before they come, nor when they look them in the face, and begin the incounter with them, be soon weary and wax faint in their minds, but faithfully and hopefully expect (they suffering for the name of Christ, and as Christians) that the spirit of their Lord, and of glory, shall rest upon them. The words of his Letter followeth.

Unto the well beloved Brethren Iohn Spilsbury, William Kissin, and the rest that in London stand fast in that Faith, and continue to walk stedfastly in that Order of the Gospell which was once delivered unto the Saints by Iesus Christ. Obediah Holmes an unworthy witness, that Iesus is the Lord, and of late a Prisoner for Iesus sake at Boston, sendeth greeting.

Dearly Beloved and longed after,

My hearts desire is to hear from you, and to hear that you grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Iesus Christ, and that your love to him, and one unto another, as he hath given commandment, aboundeth, would be the very joy and great rejoycing of my Soul and Spirit; had I not been prevented by my beloved Brethren of *Providence*, who have wrot unto you, (wherein you have my Mind at large) and also by our beloved Brother *Clarke* of *Road-Island*, who may (if God permit) see you, and speak with you mouth to mouth, I had here declared my self in that matter, but now I forbear; And

because I have an experimentall knowledge in my self, that in members of the same Body, while it stands in union with the head, there is a sympathizing Spirit, which passeth through, and also remain in each particular, so that one member can neither mourn nor rejoyce, but all the members are ready to mourn or rejoyce with it; I shall the rather impart unto you some dealings which I have had therein from the Sons of Men, and the gracious supports which I have met with from the Son of God, my Lord, and yours, that so like Members you might rejoyce with me, and might be encouraged by the same experiment of his tender mercies, to fear none of those things which you shall suffer for Iesus sake. It pleased the Father of Light, after a long continuance of mine in death, and darknesse, to cause life and immortality to be brought to light in my soul, and also to cause me to see that this life was by the death of his Son, in that hour, and power of darknesse procured, which wrought in my heart a restless desire to know what that Lord, who had so dearly bought me, would have me to do, and finding that it was his last will (to which none is to adde, and from which none is to detract) that they which had faith in his death for life, should yeeld up themselves to hold forth a lively consimilitude, or likenesse unto his death, buriall, and resurrection by that Ordinance of Baptisme; I readily yeelded thereto being by love constrained to follow that Lamb (that takes away the sins of the World) whither soever he goes; I had no sooner separated from their assemblies, and from Communion with them in their worship of God and thus visibly put on Christ, being resolved alone to attend upon him, and to submit to his will, but immediately the adversary cast out a flood against us, and stirred up the spirits of men to present my self and two more to *Plymouth* Court, where we met with 4 Petitions against our whole company to take some speedy course to suppress us, one from our own Plantation with 35 hands to it, one fro the Church (as they call it) at *Tanton*, one from all the Ministers in our Colony, except two, if I mistake not, and one from the Court at *Boston* in the *Mathatusets* under their Secretaries hand; whereupon the Court straitly chargeth us to desist, and neither

to ordain Officers, nor to Baptize, nor to break bread together, nor yet to meet upon the first day of the week, and having received these strait charges one of the three discovers the sandy foundation upon which he, stood, who when the flood came, and the wind blew, fell, yet it pleased the Father of mercies (to whom be the praise) to give us strength to stand, & to tell them it was better to obey God, rather than man, and such was the grace of our God to us-ward that though we were had from Court to Court, yet were we firmly resolved to keep close to the rule and to obey the voyce of our Lord, come what will come ; Not long after these troubles I came upon occasion of businesse into the Colony of the *Mathatusets*, with two other Brethren, as Brother *Clark*, being one of the two, can inform you, where we three were apprehended, carried to the prison at *Boston*, and so to the Court, and were all sentenced ; what they laid to my charge, you may here read in my sentence : Vpon the pronouncing of which as I went from the Bar, I exprest my self in these words ; I blesse God I am counted worthy to suffer for the name of Iesus ; whereupon *John Wilson* (their Pastor as they call him) strook me before the Iudgment Seat, and cursed me, saying, The Curse of God, or Iesus goe with thee ; so we were carried to the Prison, where not long after I was deprived of my two loving Friends ; at whose departure the Adversary stept in, took hold on my Spirit, and troubled me for the space of an hour, and then the Lord came in, and sweetly releevd me, causing me to look to himself, so was I stayed, and refreshed in the thoughts of my God ; and although during the time of my Imprisonment, the Tempter was busie, yet it pleased God so to stand at my right hand, that the motions were but sudden, and so vanished away ; and although there were that would have payd the money if I would accept it, yet I durst not accept of deliverance in such a way, and therefore my answer to them was, that although I would acknowledge their love to a cup of cold Water, yet could I not thank them for their money if they should pay it ; so the Court drew neer, and the night before I should suffer according to my sentence, it pleased God I rested, and slept quietly ; in the morning many Friends came to

visit me, desiring me to take the refreshment of Wine, and other Comforts, but my resolution was not to drink Wine, nor strong drink that day untill my punishment were over, and the reason was, lest in case I had more strength, courage, and boldnesse than ordinarily could be expected, the VVorld should either say he is drunk with new VVine, or else that the comfort and strength of the Creature hath carried him through, but my course was this: I desired Brother *John Hazell* to bear my Friends company, and I betook myself to my Chamber, where I might communicate with my God, commit my self to him, and beg strength from him; I had no sooner sequestred my self, and come into my Chamber, but *Sathan* lets flie at me, saying, Remember thy self, thy birth, breeding, and friends, thy wife, children, name, and credit but as this was sudden, so there came in sweetly from the Lord as sudden an answer, 'tis for my Lord, I must not deny him before the Sons of men (for that is to set men above him) but rather lose all, yea wife, children, and mine own life also: To this the tempter replies, Oh! but that is the question, is it for him? and for him alone? is it not rather for thy own, or some others sake? thou hast so professed and practised, and now art loth to deny it; is not pride and self in the bottom? surely this temptation was strong, and thereupon I made diligent search after the matter, as formerly I had done, and after a while there was even as it had been a voyce from Heaven in my very Soul, bearing witnes with my Conscience, that it was not for any mans case or sake in this world, that so I had professed and practised, but for my Lords case, and sake, and for him alone, whereupon my spirit was much refresht; as also in the consideration of these three Scriptures, which speak on this wise, *Who shall lay any thing to the charge of Gods elect? Although I walk through the valley and shadow of Death I will fear none evill, thy rod and thy staff they shall comfort me. And he that continueth to the end, the same shall be saved.* But then came in the consideration of the weaknesse of the Flesh to bear the strokes of a whip, though the Spirit was willing, and hereupon I was caused to pray earnestly unto the Lord, that he would be pleased to give me a spirit of courage and boldnesse, a tongue to

speake for him, and strength of body to suffer for his sake, and not to shrink or yeeld to the stroaks, or shed tears, lest the adversaries of the truth should thereupon blaspheme, and be hardned, and the weak and feeble-hearted discouraged, and for this I besought the Lord earnestly, at length he satisfied my spirit, to give up as my soul, so my body to him, and quietly to leave the whole disposing of the matter to him, and so I addressed my self in as comely a manner as I could, having such a Lord and Master to serve in this businesse: And when I heard the voyce of my Keeper come for me, even cheerfulness did come upon me, and taking my Testament in my hand, I went along with him to the place of execution, and after common salutation there stood; there stood by also one of the Magistrates, by name Mr. *Encrease Nowell*, who for a while kept silent, and spoke not a word, and so did I, expecting the Governours presence, but he came not. But after a while Mr. *Nowell* bad the Executioner doe his Office, then I desired to speake a few words, but Mr. *Nowell* answered, it is not now a time to speake, whereupon I took leave, and said, Men, Brethren, Fathers, and Countrey-men, I beseech you give me leave to speake a few words, and the rather, because here are many Spectators to see me punished, and I am to seal with my Blood, if God give strength, that which I hold and practise in reference to the Word of God, and the testimony of Iesus; that which I have to say in brief is this, Although I confesse I am no Disputant, yet seeing I am to seal what I hold with my Blood, I am ready to defend it by the Word, and to dispute that point with any that shall come forth to withstand it. Mr. *Nowell* answered me, now was no time to dispute, then said I, then I desire to give an account of the Faith and Order I hold, and this I desired three times, but in comes Mr. *Flint*, and saith to the Executioner, Fellow, doe thine Office, for this Fellow would but make a long Speech to delude the people; so I being resolved to speake, told the people; That which I am to suffer for, is for the Word of God, and testimony of Iesus Christ; No, saith Mr. *Nowell* it is for your Error, and going about to seduce the people; to which I replied, not for Error, for in all the time of my Imprisonment, wherein

I was left alone (my Brethren being gone) which of all your Ministers in all that time came to convince me of Error? and when upon the Governours words a motion was made for a publick dispute, and upon fair terms so often renewed, and desired by hundreds, what was the reason it was not granted? Mr. *Nowell* told me, it was his fault that went away, and would not dispute; but this the Writings will cleer at large: still Mr. *Flint* calls to the man to doe his Office, so before, and in the time of his pulling off my cloathes I continued speaking, telling them, That I had so learned, that for all *Boston* I would not give my bodie into their hands thus to be bruised upon another account, yet upon this I would not give the hundredth part of a **Wampon Peague* to free it out of their hands, and that I made as much Conscience of unbuttoning one button, as I did of paying the 30l. in reference thereunto; I told them moreover, the Lord having manifested his love towards me, in giving me repentance towards God, and Faith in Iesus Christ, and so to be baptized in water by a Messenger of Iesus into the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, wherein I have fellowship with him in his death, buriall, and resurrection, I am now come to be baptized in afflictions by your hands, that so I may have further fellowship with my Lord, and am not ashamed of his sufferings, for by his stripes am I healed; And as the man began to lay the stroaks upon my back, I said to the people, though my Flesh should fail, and my Spirit should fail, yet God would not fail; so it pleased the Lord to come in, and so to fill my heart and tongue as a vessell full, and with an audible voyce I brake forth, praying unto the Lord not to lay this Sin to their charge, and telling the people, That now I found he did not fail me, and therefore now I should trust him for ever who failed me not; for in truth, as the stroaks fell upon me, I had such a spirituall manifestation of Gods presence, as the like thereunto I never had, nor felt, nor can with fleshly tongue expresse, and the outward pain was so removed from me, that indeed I am not able to declare it to you, it was so easie to me, that I could well

* A *Wampan Peague* is the sixth part of a penny with us.

bear it, yea and in a manner felt it not, although it was grievous, as the Spectators said, the Man striking with all his strength (yea spitting on his hand three times, as many affirmed) with a three-coarded whip, giving me therewith thirty stroaks; when he had loosed me from the Post, having joyfulness in my heart, and cheerfulness in my countenance, as the Spectators observed, I told the Magistrates, you have struck me as with Roses; and said moreover, Although the Lord hath made it easie to me, yet I pray God it may not be laid to your charge. After this many came to me, rejoycing to see the power of the Lord manifested in weak flesh; but sinfull flesh takes occasion hereby to bring others in trouble, informs the Magistrates hereof, and so two more are apprehended as for contempt of authority, there names were *Iohn Hazell* and *Iohn Spur*, who came indeed and did shake me by the hand, but did use no words of contempt or reproach unto any; no man can prove that the first spoke any thing, and for the second, he only said thus, Blessed be the Lord; yet these two for taking me by the hand, and thus saying after I had received my punishment, were sentenced to pay 40 shillings, or to be whipt. Both were resolved against paying their Fine: Neverthelesse after one or two dayes imprisonment, one payed *Iohn Spurs* Fine, and he was released, and after six or seven dayes Imprisonment of Brother *Hazell*, even the day when he should have suffered, an other payd his, and so he escaped, and the next day went to visit a Friend about 6 miles from *Boston*, where he the same day fell sick, and within 10 dayes he ended this life; when I was come to the Prison, it pleased God to stir up the heart of an old acquaintance of mine, who with much tendernes, like the good *Samaritan*, poured oyl into my wound, and plaistered my sores; but there was present information given what was done, and inquiry made who was the Chirurgion, and it was commonly reported he should be sent for, but what was done, I yet know not. Now thus it hath pleased the Father of Mercies so to dispose of the matter, that my Bonds and Imprisonments have been no hinderance to the Gospel, for before my return, some submitted to the Lord, and were baptized, and divers were put upon the

way of enquiry; And now being advised to make my escape by night, because it was reported that there were Warrants forth for me, I departed; and the next day after, while I was on my Iourney, the Constable came to search at the house where I lodged, so I escaped their hands, and was by the good hand of my heavenly Father brought home again to my neer relations, my wife, and eight children, the Brethren of our Town, and *Providence* having taken pains to meet me 4 miles in the woods, where we rejoyced together in the Lord. Thus have I given you as briefly as I can, a true relation of things: wherefore my Brethren rejoyce with me in the Lord, and give all glory to him, for he is worthy, to whom be praise for evermore, to whom I commit you, and put up my earnest prayers for you, that by my late experience, who have trusted in God, and have not been deceived, you may trust in him perfectly: wherefore my dearly beloved Brethren trust in the Lord, and you shall not be ashamed, nor confounded, so I also rest,

Yours in the bond of Charity,
Obediah Holmes.

Three things would be well minded in this relation,
1 that God gave me Power to confess his name before the Sonnes of Men.

2 That he kept my tongue that I did not not speak evill of men, nor of Authority.

3 That he gave strength to weak Flesh that it failed not.

This Tragedy being thus acted in the face of the Country, must needs awaken and rouse up the minds, and spirits of many, cause sad thoughts to arise in their hearts, and to flow forth at their mouthes as men offended, to see Strangers professing Godliness, so discourteously used, for no Civill Transgression, but meerly for Conscience, and that by their hands who pretended, that Liberty of Conscience was also the cause of their flight, together with the other to the hazard of their lives by hard hearted, cruell, and savage *Barbarians*, and other mischiefs which a vast, and howling Wildernesse is apt to produce; wherefore to stop their mouthes, and to lull

them asleep, the old subtile Serpent as his custome ever hath been, raised up a cloud of disgrace, thinking thereby to darken the truth he profest, and to obscure the glory that appeared in his sufferings, giving out, that he was but an Excommunicate, and so an accursed person, and that it was vehemently suspected, that he was notoriously given to that filthy lust of uncleanness, which God will judge, and that the same was hinted in open Court, and that by persons of no mean credit; wherefore againe to resist the adversary who hath been a lyer from the beginning, and thereby a destroyer and murderer, and to deliver the Children of truth at least from his snare, whereby they might be taken captive at his will, he drew up, and sent a letter unto the Governour of the *Mathatusetts* Colony, and desired it might be published so that the Sons of Men, so far as the lye and slander might spread, might be acquainted therewith. The Letter followeth.

*The 12 of the 7th. M. 51. To the Honoured
Governour.*

Honoured Sir,

However you may judge of me, yet am I dayly waiting to stand before him who shall judge quick and dead, and now because I am under reproach, and sensure by many, and the more by reason of some words spoken by yourself, as though I were an evill person in life and conversation, and although I may be accounted as a fool, yet hear me a little to plead mine innocency, and I hope you will not too far condemn me untill you hear me speak; Sir, I acknowledge only free grace, and that by his power alone I have been kept, and what my life and manner of conversation was for six or seven years while I was with you, I appeal to your self, and the experiences you have had of me, and to your Elders, and to the whole Church; who ever reproved me of evill? and ye recommended me to others, and for four years time I walked with them at *Rehoboth*, who also should have reproved me if under Sin; but when it pleased the Lord to cause me to hear his voice, and I separated from them, which was occasioned by an unrighteous Act of theirs as I judged, which was, that seven of the Brethren should pass an Act of Admonition upon a Brother without the Consent of the rest, we being

23 in number, who might all in one hours space, if in health, have come together, so when I heard of it I went to Mr. *Newman*, and told him of the evill which he, and the other six had done, he told me they were the Church Representative, and if 4 of them had done it, it had been a Church Act; when this comes to the Congregation, with much adoe, he got five more to himself, and then they were 12, and we eleven, then they owned themselves to be the Church, and so began to deal with me for saying, they had abused the Church, and had took from them their power, whereupon I told them I should renounce them, and not have any more fellowship with them, till either they saw their Sin, or I further light; after which divers others to the number of seven, or eight fell off from them, and we met once a week, and every first day, and so continued for a long space of time, yea and the day was known when we intended to be Baptized, and there were many Witnesses observing our Faith, and Order, and yet not one Man or Woman of Mr. *Newmans* company that ever came to deal with me for evill, neither in Judgment, nor Practice, untill a long time after that appointment of our Lord was dispensed; Thus I say, when I had separated from them, and a long time after, I understood by their Messenger that they intended to proceed against me, so I desired the messenger to tell me for what evill, he told me I should know when I come there, so I sent one of their own Brethren to tell them from me, though I owned them not as Brethren, yet if any Man or Woman had ought against me, I would come to them, although they had not delt with me according to any rule; but none came to me, nor charged me with any evill; and when upon occasion I came before all the Congregation, and strangers, I demanded for what cause it was that they proceeded against me, seeing I had sent to them before, and no man accused me; Mr. *Newman* told me, it was for nonappearance; and now judge of the evill in your own way, and that for my Excommunication as you call it, I am by you rendred that wicked person; as for the suspition of that most abominable evill of uncleanness, and Adultery, which many think I am guilty of, by reason of some persons speeches, I desire to bless my Lord, who hath caused me to deny all uncleanness and wickedness, and God forbid

that I should take the Members of Christ, and make them the Members of an Harlot, and I challenge all Men and Women that dare stand before the judgment seat of the Lord, to come forth, and say if they ever heard unclean words proceed out of my mouth, or any unseemly gesture, much less action, to any in my life at *Salem, Seacunk*, or elsewhere, yea let them come forth before any to meet me in private, or publick, upon any friends request without the Magistrates Warrant; but I remember my Lord was called Belzebub, and what though I be called an Adulterer, or Witch, or Blasphemer, and every one saith what he pleaseth, yet I stand before the judgment of my Lord; And whereas it was also reported I Baptized Goodwife *Bowdish* naked, I bless the Lord he hath taught me to do that which is comly, and of good report, yea and I know a Man, or Woman may be drowned in their Cloathes, or buried in earth with their Cloathes, but that she had comly garments from the Crown of her head to the sole of her foot, many being present with her husband can testifie and if any be pleased to reproach me behind my back, and not to speak to my face, let them know the Lord knows how to deliver the innocent, unto whom I commit myself, with my prayers for you, and am,

Yours still as formerly to command in all

Lawfull things

Obediah Holmes.

Whilst (he through the spirit of the Lord that rested upon him) bore these bloody strokes with so cheerfull a spirit as if he felt them not, divers of the standers by, beholding it, were so affected with joy, that when he was loosed could not forbear to come to him, and to shake him by the hand, thereby to manifest their rejoycing with him, that the Lord had supported him; but information hereof being given to the Magistrates, warrants were sent forth (as is reported to the number of 13) whereupon some through fear were fain to hide themselves, and being strangers, to hasten away, or change their habit, two of them were taken as aforesaid, that is to say *John Spur*, and old *Iohn Hazell*, and committed to prison as the Warrant herewith declares.

To the Keeper or his Deputy.

By virtue hereof you are to take into your custody, and safe keeping, the body of Iohn Spur for a hainous offence by him committed, hereof not to fail. Dated the 5th. of the 7th. Month 1651. Take also into your safe keeping Iohn Hazell.

By the Court,

INCREASE NOWEL.

Iohn Spur profest to me, and before many Witnesses, that his heart was so taken with what he saw and heard, that he could not but go to him, take him by the hand, and blesse the Lord who had been so present with him, but to save me a labor his own words here followeth.

Mr. *Cotton* (saith he) in his Sermon immediately before the Court gave their Sentence against M. *Clark*, *Obediah Holmes*, and *Iohn Crandall*, affirmed, that denying Infants Baptism would overthrow all; and this was a capitall offence; and therefore they were foul-murtherers; when therefore the Governor M. *Iohn Indicot* came into the Court to pass Sentence against them, he said thus, you deserve to dy, but this we agreed upon, that Mr. *Clarke* shall pay 20 li. Fine, and *Obediah Holmes* 30 li. Fine, and *Jo. Crandall* 5 li. Fine, and to remain in prison untill their Fines be either payed or security given for them, or else they are all of them to be well whipped; When *Obediah Holmes* was brought forth to receive his Sentence, he desired of the Magistrates, that he might hold forth the ground of his practice; but they refused to let him speak, and commanded the whipper to do his Office; then the whipper began to pull off his Cloathes, upon which *Obediah Holmes* said, Lord lay not this sin unto their charge; and so the whipper began to lay on with his whip; upon which *Obediah Holmes* said, O Lord I beseech thee to manifest thy power in the weaknesse of thy Creature; he neither moving nor stirring at all for the strokes, brake out into these expressions, Blessed and praised be the Lord, and thus he carryed it to the end, and went away rejoycingly; I *Iohn Spur* being present, it did take such an impression in my Spirit to trust in God, and to walk according to the light that God had communicated to me, and not to fear what man could do unto me; that I went

to the man (being inwardly affected with what I saw and heard) and with a joyfull countenance took him by the hand when he was from the Post, and said, praised be the Lord; and so I went along with him to the prison; and presently that day there was information given to the Court what I had said and done; and also a warrant was presently granted out that day to arest both myself and *John Hazel*, which was executed on the morrow morning upon us, and so we were brought to the Court and examined; the Governour asked me concerning *Obediah Holmes*, according as he was informed by old Mr. *Cole* and *Thomas Buttolph*, of my taking of him by the hand, and smiling, and I did then freely declare what I did, and what I said, which was this; *Obediah Holmes*, said I, I do look upon as a Godly man; and do affirm that he carryed himself as did become a Christian, under so sad an affliction; and his affliction did so affect my Soul, that I went to him being from the Post, and said, blessed be the Lord, but said the Governour what do you apprehend concerning the cause for which he suffered? my Answer was, that I am not able to judge of it, then said the Governour, we will deal with you as we have dealt with him, I said unto him again, I am in the hands of God, then Mr. *Simons* a Magistrate said, you shall know you are in the hands of Men; the Governour then said, keeper take him, and so I was presently carried away to prison.

The next day about one of the Clock I was sent for again into the Court; the Governour (being then about to go out of the Court, when I came in) delivered this speech to me; said he, you must pay 40 shillings or be whipped; I said then to those of the Court that remained, that if any man suffer as a Christian let him glorifie God in this behalf, then I desired to know what Law I had broken, and what evill I had done, but they produced no Law, only they produced what the two witnesses had sworn against me; my speech thereto was this, my practice and cariage is alowed by the word of God, for it is written in *Rom. 12. Be like affectioned one towards another, rejoyce with them that rejoyce*; and it is contrary to my Iudgment and Conscience to pay a peny; then said Mr. *Bendall*, I will pay it for him, and there presented himself;

I answered then and said, I thanked him for his love, but did believe it was no acceptable service, for any man to pay a peny for me in this case; yet notwithstanding the Court accepted of his profer, and bid me be gone, then came *Iohn Hazell* to be examined.

Iohn Spur.

Here followeth the testimony of those that came in against me.

I— *Cole* being in the Market place, when *Obediah Holmes* came from the Whipping Post, *Iohn Spur* came and met him presently, laughing in his face, saying, Blessed be God for thee Brother, and so did go with him, laughing upon him up towards the prison, which was very grievous to me to see him harden the man in his sin, and shewing much contempt of Authority by that cariage, as if he had been unjustly punished, and had suffered as a righteous man, under a tyranicall Government. Deposed before the Court the 5th. of the 7th. M. 1651.

Increase Nowell.

I Thomas Buttolph did see *John Spur* come to *Obediah Holmes*, so soon as he came from the Whipping Post, laughing in his face, and going along with him towards the Prison to my great grief to see him harden him in his sin, and to shew such a contempt of Authority. Deposed the 5th. of the 7th. Month 1651. Before the Court.

Increase Nowell.

As for *Iohn Hazell*, to my knowledge, although he had some occasion of business in these parts, yet the main business that drew him hither, was to visit the prisoner, whom he at this time took by the hand, who was indeed his neer Neighbour, lived in the same Town together, walked together in the same fellowship, and faith of the Gospell, and had their hearts knit together in a more than ordinary neer bond of love, and as a manifestation thereof, he undertoke so great a journey (it being between fourty and fifty miles) to visit him, he being indisposed by reason of his age for such an undertaking (being between three and fourscore years old) and when he was there understanding it would not be long before he should suffer, out

of the same tender love, could not leave him before it was over; who also accompanied him from the Prison to the Post, and so back again; now for him, only for taking his friend by the hand, when he had suffered his punishment, and was loosed from the Post, to be thus handled, shall not the Nations that know not civility, that neither fear God nor reverence man, be astonished at this? if this be to do to others as we would that others should do to us, which is the Law and the Prophets, the command of Christ and his Apostles, let all true Christians judge; the Man being old did professe, as I was informed, That if they should have laid the strokes upon him, they would certainly have killed him, which I know ceized not a little upon him, and how far what was done had influence into his death, the Lord onely knowes; for as is before said, the same day he went forth, he fell sick, and within ten dayes he died; The Lord grant that no part of his death may be laid to their charge, and that they may see the exceeding greatnesse of the evill of thirsting after the blood of the Innocent, before the Lord come forth to avenge it, and as to that story I shall say no more, but leave the Reader to his own relation, which partly in Prison, and partly upon his death Bed, as may be perceived, he wrote and left behind him, with an intent it should be published. The relation followeth, writ and subscribed with his own hand.

*A Relation of my being brought before the Magistrates
the 6th of the 7th Moneth, 1651.*

I Going from place to place, to buy and take up commodities for my use, was attached or arrested by the Marshall, by virtue of a Warrant from the Court, to appear in the Court, and there to answer for a high misdemeanor committed by me, and coming into the Court (which was then privately kept in the Chamber) they asked me divers questions, amongst which this was one; Whether I did think that *Obediah Holmes* did well or not, in comming among them to baptize, and administer the Sacrament, laying this to my charge, that I was one with him, and of the same judgement, and whether I did think he did well, or no, in his so carrying himself; to which I an-

swered, I had here nothing to doe with that which another Man did, but I was here to answer for what I myself had committed against their Law; then said they, you have offended our Law, and have contemned Authority, for you took him by the hand, and did countenance him in his sin, so soon as he was gone from the Post, to which I said, If I have broken any Law of the place, by what I then did, I am willing to submit unto punishment; yea said the Governour, you took him by the hand, did you not? and spake to him, what said you? did you not say so and so? Blessed be God, &c. To which I said, I shall refer myself unto the testimonies that may or can be brought against me; well, said the Governour, wee shall find Testimony enough against you; take him to you Keeper, and we will call you forth in publick for that we doe with you we will proceed in publick with you, and so I went to Prison. This was the sum and substance of the first time I was called before them; the next day being the last day of the week, and the last day of their Court, I was in expectation all the forenoon to be called forth, but was not, so after dinner, when (as it appeareth) the Court was risen, and some of the Magistrates departed, I was sent for again into the Chamber, where was the Governor with three others, *scil.* Mr. *Bellingham*, Mr. *Hibbins*, and Mr. *Encrease Nowell*, as soon as I was come into the room, the Governour read my Sentence, which was, that I must pay 40 sh. or be well whipt, and so immediately he departed, and when he was gone (for I could not have time before) I answered, that I desired the privilege of an English Subject, which was to be tryed by the Country, to wit, a Jury, and to be made to appear (if they can) to be a Transgressor by a Law: To which they said, I had contemned Authority, and they had a Law to punish such, and said they, you did shew your contempt of Authority, in that you did take such a person by the hand, as soon as he was from the Post. To which I answered, I could not doe that which I did in contempt to Authority, seeing he had satisfied the Law to the full, and was departed from the place of suffering; and in the next place what I did, I did unto him as my Friend; And further I said, if I had taken him by the hand so soon as he

was loosed from the Post, and had led him out of the Town, I should not have broken any Law either of God or Man. To this they said, That there was a Law in all Courts of Justice, both in Old *England*, and other Countreies, to punish contempt of Authority, and so had they such a Law among themselves; To which I said, That in Old *England*, and in other places they had such a Law I denyed not, but that Law also was both Enacted and published, but what Law have I broken in taking my Friend by the hand, when he was free, and had satisfied the Law? To this they replied, That he had not satisfied the Keeper; To this I answered, That he had talked with his Keeper, and there was some Agreement between them, and so in that sence also not under the Law, but free; Then said they, if you would have shewed kindnesse unto your Friend, you might have forborn in that place, and done it more privately; To which I answered, I knew not but that place was as free as another, he having satisfied the Law. The Testimony that was given by Mr. *Cole* was this, *sci. I saw Iohn Hazell take Obediah Holmes by the hand, but what he said I cannot tell*; this is the Substance of all the proceedings untill the last day at night, and then they said I should be whipped, but said some of their Officers, the Whipper cannot be found, then they commanded that they should be ready by the second day morning, and then I did expect to be called forth, but neither that day, nor the third, nor fourth, was I called, but am as I understand reserved unto the 5th day, to be more publick in the view of the World, and when the 5th day came, as I had many before, so also then, that would have paid the Fine, if I would give my consent, which I denyed to doe, and so set myself by the power of Christ to suffer what should be inflicted upon me, but when Noon came I was told I should not suffer whipping, yet not having a discharge, I did not look to be freed untill the Keeper told me, I might goe about my businesse; then I demanded a discharge (meaning under the Magistrates hands) so he bad me goe, he would discharge me.

The strokes I was enjoyned by the Court to have, were 10 with a three-corded whip, the very same number I understand, that the worst Malefactors that were there

punished had, of which some were guilty of common Whoredom, other of forcing a little Child, and one *Indian* for coyning of money; thus far have you a relation according to my best remembrance from the first to the last, of all the passages concerning this matter; By me *Iohn Hazell*, written with mine own hand in *Boston Prison*, the 13 day of the 7th moneth, 1651.

A Postscript. Since I wrot, I understand there is a report that I was willing to pay my Fine, and that the Magistrates would not accept of it without I were willing. Gentle Reader, be pleased to understand that this is false, for it was without my consent or approbation; and further understand, That the Fine was taken by them, upon the profer of Mr. *Bendall* for *Iohn Spur*, it was willingly accepted by the Magistrates, and approved of, although *Iohn Spur* did to their faces contradict it, and oppose it; therefore good Reader beleieve not such reports.

By me *Iohn Hazell*.

Now of what hath been spoken in this Narrative (Reader) this is the sum.

1. Thou maist understand that the next morning after we three, being strangers, were come to our friends house at Lin where we lodged, (it being two miles out of the town) we were persued and also apprehended by the Constables under the name of erronious persons being strangers, and by that power were caried (after a full and clear manifestation of our unfreeness) unto their Assembly, then to Prison, and after a while were also brought before their Iudgment seat; in which two Assemblies, to which we were forced, they drew forth matter enough as they conceived to make us transgressors, and thereupon proceeded to sentence us without producing either Accuser, Witness, Iury, Law of God, or man, whereby either we might appear to be guilty, or they to be just and justified in their proceedings against us.

2. After we were thus persued, and apprehended under the name of erronious persons and strangers, and by their Court condemned and sentenced as Herericks or scismaticks, a motion being made by their Governour touching a discourse with their Ministers, was readily accepted by us,

and often repeated, and as often promised by them, but yet could not be obtained, as is here at large to be seen.

3. Although through the mercifull hand of our God upon us, we had wronged no man, corrupted no man, defrauded no man, as he, together with our Consciences, then did, and still to this day, do bear us witnesse yet besides the exceeding great loss and detriment otherwise sustained, we had all no doubt met with as cruell Scourgings as his faithfull servants of old, had not the provident hand of our God so disposed the hearts of some of our friends to lay down our ransome, by which two did escape ; and this did evidently appear in the third who came under their zealous, yet merciless hands, and received from them 50 stripes above the restraint of the Iews, as writers report, yea and such entertainment no doubt should strangers or Angels from Heaven, yea Christ Iesus himself have received at their hands, if they could effect it, in case they should have come among them, and not submitted, (as it is not possible they should) unto that golden, and glorious Image or likeness of the worship and way of God appointed by Christ which they have set up.

4. When this faithfull Martyr and Witness, that Christ is the Lord, had born this fourscore and ten stripes cruelly laid on, not only with a patient mind, but with an exceeding great joy of the holy spirit, as the spectators could not but discern, and was loosed from the Post, and was going to Prison again, some being inwardly moved with joy in beholding the gracious support which the Lord afforded him, (as they have affirmed) could not forbear to take him by the hand, for which thing sake two of them were apprehended and sentenced to pay each of them 40s or els be whipt. Let the Actors themselves, and all that peruse their practice for cautions sake consider, whether the spirit by which they are led thus to act, be not very like unto, if not the same which is seen, Revel. 13. *Acting the second Beast that arose up out of the Earth which had two hornes like a Lamb, yet spake like a Dragon, and exercised all the power of the first Beast that was before him, caused a lively Image to be made unto him, and forced the Earth and them that dwel therein, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to worship his Image, and that no*

man might buy, or sell, save he, that had the marke, or the name, or the number of his name. Here is Wisdom! and let such as desire from their hearts to live Godly in Christ Iesus, and do as really expect to suffer with Christ in this present evill World, as they do to reign with him in that good World which is yet to come, let such I say consider, and bear still in mind these expressions, Revel. 13. 10. He that leadeth into Captivity shall go into Captivity, he that killeth with the Sword must be killed with the Sword; here is the patience and faith of the Saints. Rev. 12. 11. And they overcame him by the blood of the Lamb, and by the Word of their Testimony, and they loved not their lives unto the death.

Rev. 6. 9, 10, 11. I saw under the Altar the Souls of them that were slain for the Word of God, and for the testimony which they held; And they cryed with a loud voice saying, how long holy and true wilt thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwel on the Earth, &c.

Rev. 20. 4. And I saw the Souls of them that were beheaded for the Witness of Iesus, and for the Word of God, and which had not worshiped the Beast, neither his Image, neither had received the marke upon their foreheads, or in their hands, and they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years.

And now forasmuch as it was boldly affirmed by a Solicitor for *New-England*, and that in the Councell Chamber before that honourable Committee there assembled in Councell, that men in *New-England* might freely enjoy their understandings, and Consciences, provided they walk civilly among them, and that they that suffered of late, did not suffer for their Consciences but for some misdemeanor, thereby endeavouring to possess those noble breasts with that which is false; therefore I think it necessary (both for the Vindication of truth, and to the end that such worthy persons may not be taken with, or deceived by such unworthy reports, so as to be drawn to countenance persons that walk in a way that they are ashamed in plain and open terms to profess, and acknowledge, for these ends I say I think it necessary to produce their Laws, at least such as speak to the matter in question, whereby these two things will plainly appear.

1. That they that will not, or else in Conscience towards God cannot conform to their worship, or suspend the worship of God as their Souls are perswaded, are by the authority of their Laws to be forced to the one, and restrained from the other, and that the Magistrate is thereby not only justified in, but also injoynd unto, such a proceeding against them, although the men otherwise walk not only as civilly or soberly as themselves, but also righteously, and Godly in this present evill World, and are such indeed as are a Law to themselves.

2. Although they have Laws thus to proceed to force all to their worship, & to restrain those that differ from them, from that worship to which their Souls are perswaded, yet in our case they were so far transported with zeal, that, what they did unto us, they did without Law, yea against those Cautions which their own Laws have provided.

Certain Lawes established in the Colony of the Mathatusets in New-England, and drawn forth (by constraint) to prove that the Authority there established cannot permit men, though of never so civil, sober, and peaceable a Spirit and Life, freely to enjoy their understandings and consciences, nor yet to live, or come among them, unlesse they can doe as they doe, and say as they say, or else say nothing, and so may a man live at Rome also.

It is ordered by this Court, and the Authority thereof, That no mans life shall be taken away; no mans honour or good name shall be stayned; no mans person shall be arrested, restrained, banished, dismembred nor any wayes punished; no man shall be deprived of his wife or children, no mans goods or estates shall be taken away from him; nor any wayes indamaged under colour of Law or countenance of Authoritie, unlesse it be by vertue, or equity of some expresse Law of the Country warranting the same, established by a General Court and sufficiently published; or in case of the defect of a Law in any particular case, by the word of God. And in capitall cases, or in cases concerning dismembring, or banishment, ac-

cording to that word to be judged by the General Court. see p. 1.

For the suppressing of Anabaptists.

It is ordered by this Court and Authority thereof, that if any person or persons within this Jurisdiction shall either openly condemn or oppose the baptizing of Infants, or goe about secretly to seduce others from the approbation or use thereof, or shall purposely depart the Congregation at the administration of that Ordinance; or shall deny the Ordinance of Magistracy, or their lawfull right or authority to make war, or punish the outward breaches of the first Table, and shall appear to the Court wilfully and obstinately to continue therein, after due means of conviction, every such person or persons shall be sentenced to Banishment. see pag. 3.

Against Blasphemy, being a capitall transgression.

It is ordered, that if any person within this Jurisdiction, whether Christian or Pagan, shall wittingly and willingly presume to BLASPHEME the holy Name of God, Father, Son, or Holy-Ghost with direct, expresse, presumptuous, or high-handed blasphemy, either by wilfull or obstinate denying the true God, or his Creation, or Government of the World; or shall curse God in like manner, or reproach the holy Religion of God, as if it were but a politick device to keep ignorant men in awe; or shall utter any other kind of Blasphemy, of the like nature and degree, they shall be put to death. Lev. 24. 15, 16. See p. 5.

To raise money for Publick charges in Church and Commonwealth.

It is ordered by this Court, and the Authority thereof, that every Inhabitant shal henceforth contribute to all charges both in Church and Commonwealth whereof he doth or may receive benefit: and every such Inhabitant who shal not voluntarily contribute proportionably to his ability with the Freemen of the same Town to all comon charges, both Civil and Ecclesiastical, shall be compelled thereto by assessment and distress to be levyed by the

Constable or other Officer of the Town as in other cases: and that the lands and estates of all men (wherever they dwell) shall be rated for all Town charges both Civil and Ecclesiastial as aforesaid, where the lands and estates shall lye; their persons where they dwell. See p. 9.

Lawes Ecclesiasticall.

1 All the people of God within this Iurisdiction, who are not in a Church way, and be orthodox in judgement, and not scandalous in life, shall have full liberty to gather themselves into a Church estate, provided they doe it in a Christian way, with due observation to the rules of Christ revealed in his word. Provided also that the General Court doth not, nor will hereafter approve of any such companies of men as shall joyn in any pretended way of Church fellowship, unless they shall acquaint the Magistrates and the Elders of the neighbour Churches where they intend to joyn, and have their approbation therein.

2 And it is further ordered, that no person being a member of any Church which shall be gathered without the approbation of the Magistrates and the said Churches, shall be admitted to the Freedom of this Common-wealth.

3 Every Church hath also free liberty to exercise all the Ordinances of God according to the rules of the Scripture.

4 Every Church hath free liberty of election and ordination of all her Officers from time to time. Provided they be able, pious and orthodox. Now the question is who shall judge of these words of restraint, Christian way, rules of the Scripture, word of God, able and orthodox.

13 That if any Christian (so called) within this Iurisdiction shall contemptuously behave himself toward the Word preached, or the Messengers thereof called to dispense the same in any Congregation; when he doth faithfully execute his Service and Office therein, according to the will and word of God either by interrupting him in his preaching, or by charging him falsely with any error which he hath not taught in the open face of the Church: or like a son of *Korah* cast upon his true doctrine or himself any reproach to the dishonour of the Lord Iesus who

hath sent him, and to the disparagement of that his holy Ordinance, and making Gods wayes contemptible and ridiculous: that every such person or persons (whatsoever censure the Church may passe) shall for the first scandal be convented and reprov'd openly by the Magistrate at some Lecture, and bound to their good behaviour. And if a second time they break forth into the like contemptuous carriages, they shall either pay five pounds to the publick Treasurie; or stand two hours openly upon a block or stool, four foot high, on a lecture day, with a Paper fixed on his brest, written in Capitall letters [AN OPEN AND OBSTINATE CONTEMNER OF GODS HOLY ORDINANCES] that others may fear and be ashamed of breaking out into the like wickedness.

14 It is ordered and decreed by this Court and Authority thereof, That wheresoever the ministry of the word is established according to the order of the Gospell throughout this Iurisdiction, every person shall duely resort and attend thereunto respectively upon the Lords dayes, and upon such publick Fast-days, and dayes of Thanksgiving as are to be generally kept by the appointment of Authority: and if any person within this Iurisdiction shall without just and necessary cause withdraw himself from hearing the publick ministry of the word, after due means of conviction used, he shall forfeit for his absence from every such publick meeting 5 shillings. All such offences to be heard and determined by any one Magistrate or more from time to time.

15 It is ordered by this Court, That the civil Authoritie here established hath power and liberty to see the peace, ordinances and rules of Christ to be observed in every Church according to his word. As also to deal with any church-member in a way of civil justice notwithstanding any church relation, office, or interest; so it be done in a civil and not in an ecclesiastical way. Nor shall any church censure degrade or depose any man from any civil dignity, office or authority he shall have in the Common-wealth.

It is ordered, that from henceforth all lands, cattle, and other estates of any kind whatsoever, shall be lyable to be rated to all common charges whatsoever, either for the

Church, Town or Comon-wealth in the same place where the estate is from time to time. see pag. 18, 19, 20.

Heresie.

Although no humane power be Lord over the Faith and Consciencs of Men, and therefore may not constrain them to beleeve or profess against their Consciencs: yet because such as bring in damnable heresies, tending to the subversion of the Christian Faith, and destruction of the soules of men, ought duly to be restrained from such notorious impiety, It is therefore ordered and decreed by this Court;

That if any Christian within this Iurisdiction shall go about to subvert and destroy the Christian Faith and Religion, by broaching or maintaining any damnable heresie; as denying the immortality of the Soul, or the resurrection of the body, or any sin to be repented of in the Regenerate, or any evil done by the outward man to be accounted sin: or denying that Christ gave himself a Ransom for our sins, or shall affirm that we are not justified by his Death and Righteousnesse, but by the perfection of our own works; or shall deny the morality of the fourth comandement, or shall indeavour to seduce others to any the heresies aforementioned, every such person continuing obstinate therein; after due means of conviction, shall be sentenced to Banishment. see pag. 24.

Disturbing of Churches.

It is ordered and decreed by this Court, and the Authority thereof, That if any person whether in Church-fellowship or not, shall goe about to destroy or disturb the orders and peace of the Churches established in this Iurisdiction, by open renouncing their Church, Estate, or their Ministry, or other ordinances dispenced in them, either upon pretence that the Churches were not planted by any new Apostles, or that ordinances are for carnall Christians, or babes in Christ, and not for spirituall, or illuminated persons, or upon any other such like grounded conceit, every such person, who shall be found culpable herein, after due means of conviction, shall forfeit to the publick Treasury forty shillings for every moneth, so long as he continues in that his obstinacy.

Torture.

That no man shall be beaten with above forty stripes for one Fact at one time. Nor shall any man be punished with whipping, except he have not otherwise to answer the Law, unlesse his crime be very shamefull, & his course of life vitious & profligate. see p. 50.

The Testimony of John Clarke, Obediah Holmes, and John Crandall, Prisoners at Boston, in New-England, concerning the faith and order of the Gospel of Christ Iesus the Lord, as the same was laid down in four Conclusions, and proffered to be openly and publickly defended against all gain-sayers ; when none would come forth thus to oppose it : now again by the aforesaid John Clarke reviewed, particularly, and strictly examined by the Word of God, and Testimony of Iesus, and thereby, (as is here at large to be seen) confirmed and justified.

The first Conclusion.

[*I Testifie that Iesus of Nazareth, whom God hath raised from the dead, is made both Lord and Christ*] you may see this testimony clearly, and plentifully witnessed and confirmed by the Scriptures of Truth ; for First, that God raised him from the dead, appears by the testimony of 12 chosen Witnesses, *Acts* 2. 24. 32. This Iesus, say they, hath God raised up, whereof we are Witnesses ; so also *chap.* 3. 15. And being alive again he was seen of above 500 Brethren at once being faithfull Witnesses, Children that will not lie, see *1 Cor.* 15. 6. And last of all he was seen of *Paul*, whom he sent to the Gentiles, see *1 Cor.* 15. 8. *Acts* 22. 18. 21. And this is layd by *Paul* as the foundation of the hope of the *Israel* of God, that they shall be raised, and shall share in that glory that shall then be revealed ; yea it is that word of Truth (as *Peter* witnesseth) by which the Father of mercies doth again beget such as had sinned & faln short of the glory of God, & were without hope, unto a lively hope of the glory of God, in an inheritance, incorruptible and undefiled, that fadeth not away, and is reserved in heaven for

them, see 1 *Pet.* 1. 3. 4. And in the second place, that God hath made this Iesus whom he hath raised from the dead, both Lord and Christ, see it also confirmed *Acts* the 2d, the 36. 10. 36. 2 *Cor.* 4. 5. *Acts* 18. 5.

[*This Iesus I say is the Christ, in English, the Anointed One, hath a name above every name*] that he is not onely said to be a Christ and an Anointed one, which, although it be a name of eminency among men, yet may there be found many, both before the time of Reformation, and since, upon whom this worthy name of Christ, or Anointed one may be worthily called, as were those names of eminency among the *Israel* of old, as King, Priest, and Prophet, and such as being washed in the blood of the Lamb are also Anointed, and made Kings and Priests unto God, and Prophets to men compare the 2 *Cor.* 1. 21. 1 *Io.* 2. 27. with *Rev.* 5. 10. 19. 10. I say he is not onely a Christ, but that he might appear in this eminent name to have the preheminance, he is called the Christ, see *Mark* 8. 29. *Io.* 11. 27. 6. 69. 20. 31. which in *English* is the Anointed one, as will appear, 1 *Io.* 41. We have found, saith *Andrew* to *Simon*, the *Messias*, being the *Hebrew* word, which being interpreted into the *Greek* Language, is *ὁ χριστός*, or the Christ but rendered in *English* as in the margent, is the Anointed, and hence he is called in the 9 *Luk.* 20. the Christ of God, or in more plain *English*, the Anointed of God, suitable to this are such expressions of the spirit of God, in the Scriptures of truth, as these; Him hath God Anointed, and that with the oyl of gladnesse above his fellowes, see *Acts* 4. 27. 10. 38. 1 *Heb.* 9. And that he hath a name above every name doth evidently appear; for it pleased the Father that in him should all fulnesse dwell, yea, all the fulnesse of the God-head bodily, that in all things, or as it is in the Margent, among all, he might have the preeminence, see *Coll.* 1. 18, 19. 2. 9. so *Phi.* 2. 9. Wherefore (saith the Apostle) God hath also highly exalted him, and given him a name above every name, he hath a name above the Anointed, Kings, Priests, and Prophets of old, they being but types and shadowes of him, and yet were the highest names in *Israel*, which was a Family that had a name above all the Families of the Earth; and so a name above all the names on

the Earth: and yet this is not all, for he hath a name above all Principality, and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not in this world only, but also in that which is to come, *Ephe.* 1. 20, 21, 22. *Phi.* 2. 10, 11.

[*He is the Anointed Priest; none to, or with him in point of atonement*] That he is the Anointed Priest, compare *Heb.* 3. 1. with 1. 9. and there shall we see the Spirit of God, calling him an High-Priest, who was of God anointed with the oyl of gladnesse above his fellowes, which cannot but be understood of his fellow-Priests, either such as were ordained of old, before the time of Reformation, and so were types, or shadowes of him, or else of such as were since by him made Priests unto God, and so received of the fulness of that his oyntment: Now that there is none to him in point of attonement, will easily be made manifest, if these three things be considered: 1 The nature of the attonement it self. 2 The weaknesse or insufficiency of all other Priests, whether ordained, or made to perform such a work. And lastly, the sufficiency of this High Priest to make a perfect attonement for all those that come to God through him.

Touching the nature of the attonement, it is not amisse to consider, that what was by this word attonement exprest under the first Testament, while that Priesthood stood, hath been since under the administration of the last Testament, that is established upon better promises than that, been exprest more frequently by the word Reconciliation, and therefore the word that in the 5 *Rom.* 11. is rendered attonement, is in 2 *Cor.* 5. 18, 19. and in all other places translated by the word Reconciliation; Now Reconciliation does pre-suppose an estrangenesse, or enmity rather, between two parties, and if the parties were men, peradventure there might be found a man to mediate; but the enmity lies not so much between man and man, or between men and Angels, good or bad, but between God and man, the Creator and the creature, and who is he in Heaven, or in Earth, that dare interpose, or step in to make a reconciliation between these two? yea, who can effect it? especially if we consider that the enmity on the creatures part is rooted in his mind, and cannot be erad-

icated (I had almost sayd, and yet I think I shall not need to retract it) by the powerfull hand of God himselfe stretcht forth in his wrath, his mind still remaining, as indeed doth notably appear out of the mouth of the Lord himself, by the hand of his Prophet *Isay.* 57. 16, 17. For the iniquity of his covetousnesse, was I wroth, and smote him; I hid me, and was wrath, and he went on frowardly in the way of his heart. So see it confirmed also in *Rev.* 16. 9. 11. 21. When the wroth of God breaks forth with an exceeding great Plague, then shall you find men blaspheming the name of God, who hath power over those Plagues, because of their paines and their sores, and repented not of their evill deeds, to give him glory; and if the wrath of God does it not, how unlike is the wrath of man to effect it? But further to shew the greatnesse of the work of Reconciliation as it lies on mans part; for as he hath not an alienation only, but an enmity in his mind, so is he apt upon all occasions to the utmost of his power to manifest the same, by wicked provoking workes against the God of Heaven, so that let but God himself be manifested in the flesh, or any bright beam of his glory break forth, and shine through mortall flesh, presently shall the Jewes, and Gentiles, though otherwise full of enmity one against an other, concurre; yea, *Herod* and *Pilate* shall now be made friends, and shall agree to Crucifie the Lord of Life and Glory; to pour forth the pretious Blood of God, and to tread under foot the Sonne of God, and to count the blood of that Covenant as an unholy thing: So that from hence we may conclude, That as he that hateth his Brother in his heart may be said to murther a man, so he that hateth God in his heart, may be said in a sense to murder God. Now as on mans part there appears such enmity in his mind, such an aptnesse to vent it, and such backwardnesse (as I might shew) in him to accept of any, but especially the Gospell termes of Reconciliation, whereby the work appears to be great; So if we consider it on Gods part, that the wrath of God is revealed from Heaven, against all ungodlinesse, and against all unrighteousnesse of the Sonnes of Men, and that his word is gone forth and cannot be recalled; In the day that thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely dye; and the Soul that sinneth, it shall

dye; and cursed is every one that continueth not in all things that are written in the Law to doe them, so that his Wrath, Iustice, and Truth are all engaged in this main controversie that he hath with his creature, and by reason thereof, he will not be pleased with thousands of Rams, nor yet with ten thousand Rivers of Oyl, &c. And therefore if the question be asked who is worthy, or who is able to stand between God and Man, to make the attonement, to slay the enmity, and so to make peace? The answer will be the same, That no man (that is meerly so, no nor Angel) in Heaven, nor in Earth nor under the Earth, is either worthy, or able to undertake this great work, no nor in that sense to look thereon; And therefore in the second place all other Priests will be found insufficient; for as for the Priests of old, and all that belonged to them, as Vestures, Vessels, Altars, Temple; and all that was officiated by them, as their Sacrifices, Attonements, Oblations, blessings, they were too weak to accomplish this work, for they were not able to make him perfect that did the service, as appertaining to the Conscience, but brought their sins to remembrance, instead of blotting them out, so as to remember them no more, and were indeed but meer shadowes of good things to come, which they that beleaved had in their eye, and saw afarre off, see *Heb.* 7. 18, 19. 9. 9. 10. 1, 2, 3, 4, 11. and as for others that are made Priests unto God, they doe but receive of his fulnesse, and will readily acknowledge with *Paul*, that through the Law they are dead to the Law, so as by their own works or righteousness (which now appears to be but glistering wickednesse, and no other than fruits of that enmity that was in their minds, by them I say) not to expect to make their own peace with God; and although it is true they have liberty to enter into the holiest, yet it is by the blood of Iesus, and by a new and living way which he hath consecrated for them; and although they may draw neer unto the holy God with a true heart, and full assurance of Faith, yet they must have their hearts sprinkled with his blood from an evill conscience, and their bodies washed with pure water; and although being in the holy presence of God, they may, as the Priests of old, offer up prayers with strong cryes for themselves, and others, yet must they be offered upon

the golden Altar that is before the Throne, and must be mingled, and perfumed with much sweet incense out of the golden censer that is in the Angell of the Covenants hand, and the smoke of the incense must ascend with their prayers before God out of the Angels hand: *Rev.* 8. 3, 4 so that in this point they are nothing, yea lesse, and worse than nothing; but Christ is the very power of God in this point, the substance of all shadowes, and what he did in reference to the work of attonement, and reconciliation, he doth it substantially and effectually, both on Gods part and mans; for he hath both natures in himself, and by reason thereof is an apt Mediator fit to interpose between both to make reconciliation; for he is declared to be the Son of God, wholly without sin, consecrated with an oath of God to be a Priest for that purpose for ever, *Heb.* 7. 21. comp. with 27. 28. who by the eternall spirit of God offered up himself without fault to God his Father, the just for the unjust, so that by one offering, he hath consecrated for ever them that are sanctified, so that there is no more need of offering for sin, see *Heb.* 9. 4. comp. with 10. 14. 18. and is now entred, not into the Holy places made with hands, but into Heaven, to appear in the sight of God for those that beleve through him, and not with the blood of others, but with his own blood, whereby their consciences are purged from dead works to serve the true and the living God, see *Heb.* 9. 26. 14. yea, and there remaineth, and is set down at the right hand of the throne of the Majesty in the highest,¹ being the mediator of that better covenant, even that which is established upon the best, and absolute free promises, which are to pardon their enmity, and iniquity, and to remember their sin no more, to write his Lawes in their hearts, and to be to them a God, and to undertake that they shall be to him a people; so that as God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them;² so in the ministry of reconciliation Christ is by his Spirit in man shedding abroad the love of God in his heart, and thereby slaying his enmity, by which means he is reconciled to God; so that whom he blesseth, being the High

¹ *Heb.* 1. 3. 8. 1.² *Heb.* 8. 6. 10, 11, 12.

Priest and Captain of our salvation, shall be blessed indeed; see *Acts* 3. 26. By all which it doth appear to be a truth, that there is none to him in point of attonement to make reconciliation between God and Man. And now that there is none with him in that great work, neither person, nor service, is also as evident. God the Father hath designed him alone in that businesse, that no Flesh might glory in his presence, see *Acts* 4. 11. 12. 1 *Tim.* 2. 5. *Colloss.* 1. 20. 1 *Cor.* 1. 29. And *Paul* tels the *Galatians* who were about to joyn circumcision, and so works with Christ in this point of acceptance with God, that then Christ should not profit them, and that they were faln from grace, see *Gal.* 5. 23.

[*He is the Anointed Prophet, none to him in point of Instruction.*] That he is the Anointed Prophet, or a Prophet Anointed with the Spirit of Prophecie above his fellow Prophets, and a Teacher immediately sent from God from Heaven, see *Io.* 9. 17. *Luke* 24. 19. *Heb.* 1. 9. *Ioh.* 3. 2. 13. 6. 38. 16. 28.

And that there is no Prophet to him, will evidently appear; for all the other Prophets of God were such as did bear witness to him,¹ or were types of him, yea *Moses* and *Elias*, those two great Prophets, lay themselves low that he may be exalted; wherefore *Deut.* 18. 15. I (saith the Lord by the hand of *Moses*) will raise them up a Prophet from among their Brethren like unto thee,² and will put my words in his mouth, and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him, and it shall come to pass, that whosoever will not hearken unto my words which he shall speak in my name, I will require it of him. And *Ioh.* 3. 30, 31. He must increase (saith *Iohn* the Baptist, who came in the spirit of *Elias*,³ and was, saith Christ, more than a Prophet, so that among those that were borne of Women before him there was not a greater⁴) and I must decrease; he that cometh from above (saith he) is above all, he that is of the Earth is Earthly, and speaketh of the Earth, he that cometh from Heaven is above all, and what he hath seen and heard, that he testifieth, and no man receiveth his Testimony; he that hath received

¹ *Acts* 10. 43. *Jo.* 1. 45.

³ *Matth.* 17. 12, 13.

² *Acts* 3. 21. 7. 37.

⁴ *Matth.* 11. 11, 12, 13, 14.

his Testimony hath set to his seal that God is true, for he whom God hath sent speaketh the words of God, for God giveth not the Spirit by measure unto him; and as these great Prophets thus witness to Christ, so the voice that is heard from Heaven by *Iames*, *Cephas*, and *Iohn*, do confirm their testimony, that there is no Prophet to him, for when upon the Mount, *Moses* and *Elias* appeared talking with Christ, and *Peter* would have three Tents or Tabernacles, one for Christ, one for *Moses*, and another for *Elias*, that so no doubt at some times, and in some cases, he might be hearkning to them, immediatly upon the motion, and as an evident manifestation of a dislike thereof, they both vanished, and a cloud overshadow'd them all, and Christ being the Prophet only remaining, there comes a voice out of the cloud which said, This is my wel-beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, hear ye him; *Mat.* 17. 5, 6, 7. And now that there is none to him in point of instruction, will also appear with respect both to the matter and efficacy. 1 For the matter of instruction, he that cometh from above being also in the bosome of the Father, must needs be above all in his matter of instruction, for what he hath heard and seen in the Fathers bosome, that he Testifies, and speaketh the very words of God, yea declareth and maketh known God himself, being the bright breaking-forth of the Fathers glory, which was that which *Moses*, that great Prophet did so much desire to behold, and could not obtain it; and hence it is, that it is said his hearers were astonished at his Doctrine, concluded no man ever spake like this man, and the best of them knew not whether to go to better themselves, forasmuch as he had the words of eternall life, yea and that holy Spirit of promise which the Saints were and still are to receive, was but to glorifie him, to take of him and his words, and to shew unto them the treasures of light and life, and refreshment that is contained therein; see for the proof of all this, 1 *Io.* 17. 18. *Io.* 3. 31, 32, 34. *Heb.* 1. 3. *Exo.* 33. 18, 27. *Mat.* 7. 28. *Io.* 7. 46. *Io.* 6. 68. *Io.* 14. 26. & 16. 12, 13, 14. And as for excellency of matter, so for efficacy and powerfull instructing, there is none to him in point of instruction, for he it is in whose hand is the Key of David, and he openeth the heart to

understand the scriptures; and to shew a lively experiment of his powerfull instructing, when he was here upon Earth, he past by the wise and learned Rabbies, and called the illiterate and foolish Fishermen, and to this day doth choose not many wise, nor many learned, but the poor foolish and despised ones, that as a teacher he may shew his abilities, thereby giving understanding to the simple, speaking words of light, and life, and spirit to them, and by them to confound the wise, and learned, and mighty; yea he indeed is the light of the Gentiles which sate (and still in a great measure sit) in darkness, and is that true light that enlightneth every one that cometh into the World, see 24 *Luke* 45. 1 *Corinthians* 1. 26, 27. *Iohn* 6. 63. *Acts* 13. 47. *Iohn* 1. 9. And as he was the Prophet, opening his Fathers Bosome, and shewing the things that were past and present, so the things also that were to come; he tells them how many things he must suffer of the Elders, and Chief Priests, and Scribes, and be killed, and raised again the third day, and therein foresheweth his Office of Priesthood; he also foretells how after he is risen as a Lord, he will set his House in order, and so depart to his Father to receive his Kingdom, and to return, and what shall befall his Servants in the time of his absence, by the reign and rage of the Beast, and Spirit of Antichrist, and what will be each ones portion at his return, as appears in the book of the *Revelation*, which is surrounded with blessings to him that readeth, Chapter 1. 3. and curses to him that addeth to it, or taketh from it, Chapt. last 18. 19. Wherefore seeing there is no Prophet or Teacher to Christ and his Spirit in point of instruction, both for excellency of matter, and efficacy in teaching, it well suites with Christians to be still cleaving close to this Prophet, and concluding with the Disciples that first trusted in him, Whither shall we go, thou hast the Words of Eternall life. But to proceed, he is [*The Anointed King, who is gone unto his Father for his glorious Kingdom, and shall ere long return again.*] That Jesus of Nazareth is the Anointed King could not be hid in the day of his humiliation, as appears *Luke* 23. 2, 3. & Chapter 19. 38. The Majesty of a King did so appear in that lowly and meek form, while he rode upon an Asse, that if the multitude of the

Disciples had not confest him, but had held their peace, the stones would cry out; yea and then his word had a powerfull efficacy like the word of a King among Men and Devils, the winds and Seas, so that he speaks but the word and the blind see, the lame walk, the deaf hear, the dumb speak, the dead are raised, the Devills are cast out, the poor receive the Gospell; when he is at the weakest, then is *Pilate* forc'd to confess that he is King of the Iews, and to propagate this confession as far as Latin, Greek, and Hebrew will carry it; this appears more evident, since he was raised and sits as Lord at the right hand of the Father, at least in the hearts and lives of his Servants, by powring forth that Spirit or oyntment received, *Acts* 2. 33, 34, 35, 36. So that the Kings of *Israel* were but his types, and the Kings of the Nations are but his Sword-bearers, for he is King of Kings; but most lively shall this truth be made manifest, when all enemies shall become his footstool, and he shall appear indeed in the form of a King with thousands of his Saints, and ten thousand times ten thousand of the heavenly Hosts, and shall in the powerfull word of a King command the Earth and the Sea to give up their Dead, and both wicked men and Devills to go together into torment, and they shall be tormented, and the Saints to enter into the joy of their Lord, and it shall be unspeakably glorious, 25 *Mat.* 31. 32. *Luke*, 9. 26. *John* 5. 28, 29. And that he is gone unto his Father to receive his Kingdom, and shall ere long return again, will be made manifest by these scriptures, *Io.* 20. 17. *Lu.* 19. 12, 13. *Heb.* 9. last. 2 *Tim.* 4. 1. *Rev.* last, so that as certainly as he hath had a time for his Prophetickall Office and for his Priestly, so shall he have a time for his Kingly; and as the dream of *Nebuchadnezzar* hath been found certain, and the interpretation of *Daniel* sure, concerning those four Monarchies or Kingdoms of men which should come to pass in the Earth, so certain and sure it is, that the day is approaching that the God of Heaven will set up his Kingdom by that despised yet Corner-stone that was cut out without hands, *Dan.* 2. 44, 45.

[*That this Iesus Christ is also the Lord, none to or with him, &c.*] That he is the Lord, appears 2 *Cor.* 4. 5. We preach Christ Iesus the Lord, saith *Paul*, and *Acts* 10. 36.

saith *Peter*, he is Lord of all, and hence it is that he is called Lord of Lords. *Rev.*

And that there is none to him by way of commanding and ordering with respect to the worship of God, the household of Faith, will evidently appear if the nature of the household of Faith, the worship of God, and the commanding and ordering power that suits therewith, be considered with respect unto him. For the nature of the household of Faith, they are a company of faithfull ones,¹ that are bought with the price of his blood,² knit together in one by his Spirit,³ founded wholly upon himself, built up by him to be a holy habitation of God,⁴ and therefore not in the least measure to be defiled with the inventions and commandements of men,⁵ from whence it is that they are still with their ey fixt upon him whom they look upon to be as well the finisher as the author of their faith,⁶ still in their hearts calling on him that hath bought them, and saying, Lord what wilt thou have me to doe,⁷ and still standing upon their watch to harken what this Lord will speak,⁸ for the voice of a stranger they will not hear;⁹ so that by this it evidently appears, that there is none that hath so much right unto this household of Faith by way of ordering it, nor yet freedom in it by way of commanding, as hath Christ Iesus the Lord; And from the nature of the worship which is spirituall, to be performed by a spirituall worshipper,¹⁰ and after or in that true manner that the Father of spirits hath appointed, it will as evidently appear, that there is none to him by way of commanding and ordering in this matter, who is the only begotten of the Father, came out of, and yet is, in his bosome, and hath declared him, the true way of his worship, and who are such worshippers as he seekes for; who as a Lord faithfull over his house before his departure gave order thereto, commanded his Servants to watch, and to hold fast till he come, and in his absence being at the right hand of his Father, is mindefull to shed abroad of that holy Spirit of Promise, whereby the true worshippers shall be led from truth to truth, untill they be brought into all

¹ Eph. 1. 1. Col. 1. 2.

⁴ Col. 2. 19. ² Eph. 20. 21, 22.

⁷ Acts 9. 6. ⁸ Ps. 85. 8.

² 1 Cor. 6. 20. 7. 23.

⁵ 1 Cor. 3. 16, 17.

⁹ Io. 10. 5.

³ 1 Cor. 12. 13.

⁶ Heb. 12. 2.

¹⁰ 4 Jo. 23, 24.

truth. And if the nature of the commanding and ordering power, that suits both with the worship, and with the worshippers, which the Father of Spirits seeks for be also considered, which is not a law of a carnall commandment seconded with carnall weapons, or an arm of flesh: but a spirituall law, or as the Apostle calls it, *Rom. 8. a law of the Spirit of life from Christ Jesus*, spoken unto, or rather written in the heart of a Christian by the Spirit of Christ, by reason whereof he obeyes from the heart, readily, willingly and cheerfully that form of doctrine which is engraven and laid up therein, *Heb. 8. 10. 2 Cor. 3. 3. Rom. 6. 17.* If this I say be considered, that the worship is spirituall, such as must begin in, spring up, and rise from the heart and the spirit, and so be directed to the Father of spirits, and so the commanding power that suits herewith, must speak to the heart and spirit of a man, then is there no Lord in this matter to Christ Jesus the Lord, who speaks to the heart in the Spirit, and his words are as commands from the head to the members, which conveigh together spirit and life to obey them, by reason of which his commands are not grievous, for where the Spirit of this Lord is, there is liberty, and they by beholding the glory of the Lord, are transformed into the same Image, from glory unto glory, by the Spirit of the Lord, *2 Cor. 3. 17, 18.*

And that there is none with him, he is the onely Lord, and law-giver of this spirituall building, and so of the spirits in this sense, appears by such scriptures as say, *One is your Lord and law-giver, James 4. 12. Ephes. 4. 5. Mat. 23. 8. 10.* and by such as say, *ye are bought with a price, be ye not therefore the servants of men*, and the Apostles that had greater authority in this point than any men living, yet they acknowledge they had not Dominion over mens faith, and therefore declare this to be the express mind of God, that the servants of this Lord must not strive (as if they were Lords) but be patient, in meekness instructing those that oppose themselves, or as the word imports, that set themselves by covenant in opposition to that living Lord. And whereas it is declared in the testimony, that this household of faith was purchased by his blood as Priest, instructed and nourished by his Spirit as Prophet, &c. this will all evidently appear to be true, *Acts 20. 28. John 16.*

from the 7. to the 16. 1 *Cor.* 2. 9, 10, 11, 12. *Rom.* 8. *John* 1. 2. 26, 27. *Rev.* 2. 11. 17. 29. 2 *Thes.* 14, 15. 1 *Cor.* 11. 2. and 1. 7. And so is the first part of the testimony by the word of God confirmed and justified.

2. [*I testifie that Baptism or dipping in water is one of the commands of this Lord Jesus Christ.*] That this commandment of Jesus is by way of dipping, and as it were by drowning, overwhelming, or burying in water, and not by sprinkling with water, appears many waies.

1. In that although there be frequent mention made of that appointment of Christ in his Last Will and Testament, yet is it never expressed by the word that may be rendred rantism, or sprinkling, but by the word that is rendred baptism, or dipping.

2. In that the word by which it is so frequently exprest, doth in proper English signify to dip, to plung under water, and as it were to drown, but yet so as with safety, so that the party (as to the manner) may be drowned again, and again; see the instance of *Naaman*, he dipp'd himself seven times in *Jordan*, 2 *Kings* 5. 14. and to this sense of the word (at least in that place) both the *Greek*, *Latine*, and *English* Churches agree.

3. In that the phrase (in which there is mention made of such an appointment of Christ) doth necessarily import such a thing, and therefore when mention is made of baptizing, there generally followeth that word the preposition (*ἐν*) which is commonly translated in, or into, which suits with dipping, and not the preposition (*συν*) which signifies with, and so suits with sprinkling. And therefore it may be as well rendred, I baptize you in water, and he shall baptize you in the holy Spirit, *Mar.* 1. 8. as it is rendred *Iohn* did baptize in the wilderness, and in the River *Jordan*, verse 4, 5. or that *Iohn* was in the Spirit on the Lords day, *Rev.* 1. 10. and they were baptized in the cloud and in the Sea, 1 *Cor.* 10. 2. yea it may as well be rendred, I baptize, or dip you into water, as it is rendred they were casting a net into the Sea *Mar.* 1. 16. for the words are the same, and it would be an improper speech to say *Iohn* did baptize with the wilderness, and they were casting a net with the sea.

4. That this appointment of Christ is by way of dip-

ping, and not sprinkling, appears, in that for the resemblance, and likeness hereunto, the *Israelites* passing under the cloud, and through the sea, where the *Ægyptians* that were their Lords, and commanders, their pursuers, and enemies, that sought their destruction, were drowned, left behind, and seen no more, is by the holy Spirit called a baptism, 1 *Cor.* 10. 1, 2. they were baptized in the cloud, &c. Where observe it is not here rendred with the cloud, and with the Sea, as in the other place, *Mark* 1. 8. with water, because it suits with sprinkling, although the word be the same; but in the cloud, and in the Sea, which suits with dipping, or overwhelming, and so with the appointment of Christ, they passing through the midst of the red or bloody Sea on dry land, which stood on both sides as a wall, and being under the Cloud, were as men in a carnall eie overwhelmed and drowned, and yet truly saved, and safe from their enemies.

5. That this appointment of Christ was not by sprinkling, but by dipping, or putting the person into or under the water, appears by *Philips* baptizing the *Eunuch*; It is said, *They went both down into the water*, both *Philip* the baptizer, and the *Eunuch* that was the person to be baptized, and being there in the water, *Philip* baptized, or dipped him in that water, as *John* did *Jesus* in the river of *Jordan*, and then it is said as they descended, or went down into the water, so they ascended, or went straitway up out of the water, see *Acts* 8. 38, 39. *Mat.* 3. 16. mark the expression, *And Jesus when he was baptized went up straitway out of the water*, therefore had he been down in the water.

6. That this appointment of Christ was not by sprinkling, but by dipping, or as it were a drowning, appears, in that *Iohn* the Baptizer, his work being to baptize, remains in the wilderness by the river of *Iordan*, and afterward in *Ænon*, and the reason that is rendred by the Spirit of God why there he abode, was, *because there was much water there*, which need not have been, if that appointment could have been performed by sprinkling, and not by dipping. See *Luke* 3. 2, 3. *Iohn* 3. 23.

7. That this appointment of Christ was not to be performed by sprinkling, but by dipping, &c. appears from the nature of the Ordinance it self, for it is such an ordi-

nance as whereby the person that submitteth thereto, doth visibly put on Christ Iesus the Lord, and is hereby visibly planted into his death, holding forth therein a lively similitude, and likeness unto his death ; whereby onely through faith he now professeth he hath escaped death, and is in hope to obtain life, and peace everlasting, and so to have fellowship with him in his death, as to be dead with him, and thereupon to reckon himself to be dead indeed unto sin, Sathan, the law, and the curse. See *Gal. 3. 27. Rom. 8. 2. 3. 5. 7, 8. 11. 1 Cor. 15. 29.* But the planting of a person into the likeness of death, is no waies resembled by sprinkling ; but by dipping it is lively set forth and demonstrated, therefore.

8. This appointment of Christ, *sci.* Baptism, is an ordinance whereby the person that submitteth thereto, doth hereby visibly and cleerly resemble the buriall of Christ, and his being buried with him, so as in respect of the old man, the former lusts and conversation, like the *Egyptians*, to be taken out of the way, and seen no more. See *Romans 6. 4. 6. Col. 2. 12.* But sprinkling doth no way lively resemble the buriall of Christ, or the persons being buried with him, as dipping doth ; therefore.

9. This appointment of Christ, *sci.* Baptism, is an ordinance whereby the person that submitteth thereto, doth visibly, and lively hold forth herein the resurrection of Christ, declares him, whose life was taken from the earth, to be alive again, who although he died and was buried, yet was he not left in the grave to see corruption, but was raised again, and behold he liveth for evermore ; and as hereby he holds forth the resurrection of Christ, so doth he also his own, being planted into the likeness thereof, so as to reckon himself to be in his soul and spirit quickened, and risen with Christ, from henceforth to live unto God the fountain of life, and to Christ Iesus the Lord who died for him, and rose again, and so to walk in newness of life in this present evill world, being also begotten unto a lively hope, that in the world to come he shall be raised, and quickened both in soul, and body, to a life everlasting. See *Rom. 6. 4. 5. 8. 11. Acts 8. 33, 35, 36. Col. 2. 12. Rom. 8. 11. 1 Cor. 15. 29. 1 Pet. 1. 3.* but sprinkling doth no way lively resemble the resurrection of Christ, or the

souls or bodies rising, or being raised by him, as the way of dipping doth. Therefore this appointment of Christ was, and still is, to be performed by way of dipping or putting the person into or under the water, and not by sprinkling.

And that this dipping in, or into water, in the name of Iesus, is one of the commandments of this Lord Iesus Christ, doth evidently appear *Mat.* 28. 19. *Mark* 16. 15, 16 compared with *Acts* 2. 38. 41. 8. 36. 38. and 10. 47, 48. And that it is also to be observed by all that trust in Christ, as other of his commands, as he is the Lord, untill he come again, is likewise expressly manifested to be his will, *Mat.* 28. 20. *Gal.* 1. 7, 8. *Jude* 3. *2 Tim.* 2. 2. *Col.* 2. 5, 6. *Rev.* 2. 25. 3. 11. *Hold fast till I come.* *Rev.* 22. 14. 19. *Heb.* 12. 25. But to proceed.

[*That a visible believer or disciple of Christ Iesus (that is, one that manifesteth repentance towards God, and faith in Iesus Christ) is the onely person that is to be baptized with that visible baptism or dipping of Iesus Christ in water*]

That a visible disciple or Scholar of Christ, one that manifesteth himself to have heard him, to have been taught by him, and to have yielded up himself to him as his teacher, is the only person, &c. will be made manifest,

1. By the commission itself, and the argument stands thus, they and they onely have right to this ordinance, and appointment of Iesus Christ, whom the ordainer himself, *sci.* Christ Iesus the Lord, hath in his Last Will and Testament appointed it to; but Christ Iesus the Lord hath appointed it to Disciples, and to Believers, and to such onely. Therefore.

The first proposition cannot be denied, and the second will easily be proved: see the commission by which the Apostles were warranted to administer this ordinance, and so must all that baptise or they will appear but usurpers *Mat.* 28. 18, 19. All power is given unto me in heaven and in Earth, saith the Lord, go ye therefore and disciple or make disciples not among the Jews only, but among the Gentiles, and Nations, and baptize them; so that if the question should have been made, Lord whom shall we baptise of the Nations among the Jews and Gentiles? his answer was given in the words before, and he would have given no other, you shall baptize amongst the Nations

Jews and Gentiles, such as first have been taught, and by teaching have been made my disciples; so *Mar.* 16. 16. Go ye into all the world, saith the Lord, and preach the Gospel to every creature, to the Gentiles as well as the Jews, he that beleeveth and is baptized shall be saved, &c. So that if the question here again should be propounded who among the religious and strict Jews, and the loose and profane Gentiles, should be baptised, the answer is plain, those to whom the Gospel first hath been preached, and they through that Gospel have also believed.

2. By the practice of the Commissioners who were faithful unto their Lord, and to the charge which he gave them, and the argument stands thus.

Such as the faithful Apostles, and first Commissioners of Christ Jesus the Lord administred this ordinance of baptism unto, such and such only ought to be made partakers thereof. But the Apostles and first Commissioners of Christ administred not this ordinance unto carnal babes, infants of daies, such as are by the testimony of the Scriptures declared to be conceived in sin, to be brought forth in iniquity, and being born of the flesh to be but flesh, and so by nature the Children of wrath one as well as another; being also untaught. But to such as first were taught, and were ordained, by the immortal seed of the word, to be born again, and as new born babes in Christ, having tasted of the sincere milk of the word, desire still more of the same, that they might grow up thereby, and such as appeared to be converted and to become as little ones, such little ones as believed in *Jesus*.

The first proposition I suppose none that own Christ and his Apostles will dare to deny. And the second which is more questionable will also be proved. See *Acts* 2. 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, &c. Although *Peter* with the 11 calls upon the convicted Jews to repent, and to be baptized every one in the name of Jesus for the remission of sins, and tells them that then they shall be made partakers of the holy Spirit; and that they should not need to distrust it; he shews them the largeness of the promise that was made concerning the pouring forth of the Spirit, it being promised to be poured forth upon all flesh, as they had exprest in the beginning of their discourse out of *Joel* v. 16. and

17. and therefore saith, tis to you and to your Children, and to all that are afar off, even as many (of you, your children and such as are a far off) as the Lord our God shall call; yet he baptizeth none, but such as were called by the holding forth the word of salvation by Jesus Christ, as appears in the words, for they that gladly received his word were baptized; and they only; for they that were baptized were added, and continued together in the Apostles Doctrine, and in fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayer, and continued dayly with one accord in the Temple, and breaking bread from house to house did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart, praising God: all which cannot be understood of infants of daies. And therefore this place if rightly considered will be so far from affording a ground for the baptizing of the children of believing parents, because here it is said the promise is to you and to your children, that it will sufficiently evince the contrary; for indeed such an apprehension is accompanied with 2 or 3 evident mistakes, there is a mistake in the promise, in the parties to whom the promise belongs, and the manner how it is to them and their children, &c.

1. There is a mistake of the promise, in that it is looked at as the covenant of Grace which doth ingratiate the soul into, and gives it an interest in all the privileges of the Gospel of Christ, and so in order doth go before baptism or any other visible ordinance and appointment of his, whereas in very truth by promise there, is meant that holy Spirit of promise which they which believed in Christ, and obeyed him, should according to promise receive after he was ascended unto the right hand of the father, as appears *Joh. 7. 39. 14. 16. 16. 7.* That which he had here shed abroad in a powerfull manner upon the Apostles, and that which these Jews also in believing and obeying the Gospel of Christ should also receive, and therefore saith *Peter*, repent, and be baptized and ye shall receive, &c. and was no other than that which was of old prophesied of by *Ioel*, as is declared *v. 16.* and so is a promise that follows faith and obedience, and not such as goes before to give right to this appointment of Christ.

2. There is a mistake in the parties to whom this

promise belongs, for whereas it is said *to you and to your children*, and thereupon it is conceived to be meant believers, and their infants of daies, which upon that accompt are to be baptized, it is plain and evident when the Apostle spoke these words to them, they could not be looked upon as believers, forasmuch as they being prick'd at the heart, and only convinced of their evill in murdering the Lord of life, propounded what they should do to be saved, which is farre from believing, to which the Apostle replies, *repent, and be baptized in the name of Jesus for the remission of sinnes*; and to conceive that by their children were meant infants of daies, it may be as well so understood by your Sonnes and daughters, which should so receive of the promise of the Spirit as to prophecy mentioned in the seventeenth verse of this chapter, to which these words are related; and to make it appear that the promise was not so either to them or their children (as yet manifested) to give them right unto baptism, after many more words used by the Apostle to perswade them to save themselves from this adulterous generation, it is said, but as many as gladly received his word were baptized, and but only such, and not their infants of daies, for they that were baptized continued together in such appointments of Christ as infants are in no measure capable of.

3. There is a mistake in the manner how this promise is to them, & their children, not spoken to them now as believers, & their children as having right and interest peculiar by them, but indeed to them, and their children no otherwise than to all that are a far off, which if taken in the generall cannot be understood but with respect to the generall promise, which is to pour forth his Spirit upon all flesh, but if with the restriction, which is, even as many as the Lord our God shall call, then, parents and children, Jews and Gentiles, such as are neer, and as are a far off, must be called by the word of his grace before they can have a peculiar right and interest in this spirit of promise, and so a child that is called to believe and obey the Gospel may have this promise made good unto him before his father, and a Gentile that is a far off before a Jew that is neer.

This will appear also by other instances, as of *Philip*

baptizing in *Samaria*, they were men and women that he baptised there, such as believed and received the word with great joy, *Acts* 8. 8. 12. and when the *Eunuch* seeing the water, asked *what should let him to be baptised*, *Philip* intimates that although he had been taught, yet the want of a manifestation of faith would be a let, v. 36, 37. And whereas there is mention made of whole houses that were baptised; that the Commissioners might appear faithfull unto their Lord, and keep close to the very words of their Commission, you shall find they were first taught, and by teaching were made his disciples, and gladly received his word. See it in *Cornelius* houshold *Acts* 10. 33, 34. compared with the 44. 47. the *Taylors* houshold *Acts* 16. 32. 34. *they spake unto him the word of God, and unto all that were in his house, and he set meat before them, and rejoiced, believing in God with all his house*; see it also in *Crispus* houshold, *Acts* 18. 8, 9, 10, 11. *Stephanus* houshold 1 *Cor.* 1. 16, 17. compared with *chap.* 16, v. 15. And as for *Lydias* houshold *Acts.* 16. the Spirit of God being more silent therein, they that cannot interpret it by the other four, nor yet by the Commission it self, nor by the Commissioners faithful observance thereof in all other instances, let them prove if they can these three particulars. 1. That *Lydia* ever had a husband. 2. In case she had, that ever she had any children by him, and if so, then in the 3. place that they were not dead, or so grown up that they might hear and receive the word gladly as well as their mother.

3. A third argument to prove that a visible believer is the person that according to the mind of Christ is to be baptized in water, may be taken from the order which the Spirit of Christ laies down, faith and baptism, in the scriptures of truth, putting faith still in the first place, witness *Mark* 16. 15, 16. *Mat.* 28. 19. *Heb.* 6. *Eph.* 4. A 4 argument may be taken from the nature of the ordinance, and a 5 from *Johns* Baptism. Yea much more might be said to this point, but this may suffice.

[*And also the only person that is to walk in the visible order of his house, and so to wait for his comming the second time in the form of a Lord and King with his glorious Kingdome according to promise*]

That he is the only person that is to enter into, and walk in the visible order of his house, will evidently appear, if the order in which our Lord left his house when he went to his Father to receive his kingdome be duly considered, for in his last will and testament we shall find it thus recorded, when our Lord was about to be gone, he gave order unto his Apostles, whom he made stewards in his house of the mysteries of God, to make him Disciples of all Nations, and that such as were so made should then be baptized, and so visibly planted into Christ, and put on Christ, and having so received him, should walk in him, observing all things whatsoever he had commanded, the first thing whereof as touching order was, to be added or joined one to another in the fellowship of the Gospel by a mutual professed subjection to the Scepter of Christ, and being a company thus called out of the world, from worldly vanities, and worldly worships, after Christ Jesus the Lord (which is the proper *English* of these words the Church of Christ, and is in other terms called the houshold of faith) should steadfastly continue together in the Apostles doctrine, *sci.* the consolation, reproof, and instruction thereof, in Fellowship, *sci.* mutual support both inward and outward; in Breaking of bread, thereby remembring the death of our Lord, whose soul was made an offering for sin, as his flesh is meat indeed, and his blood drink indeed, by the help of the Spirit, to nourish our souls and spirits up unto eternal life, and in prayer, one with and for another; And that this is the absolute order which the Lord hath appointed in his last Will and Testament, doth evidently appear both by his own precept, and command, and by the practice of such as first trusted in him, and if so, then neither infants of daies, nor yet such as profess themselves to be believers in Jesus, but refuse as a manifestation thereof, according to the practice of such as first trusted in Christ, to yield up themselves to be planted into the death, burial, and resurrection of Christ, and so visibly to put Christ on, as did the Christians of old, I say such have no visible right to enter into, or walk in the order of the Gospel of Christ; and to conclude the point, the argument stands thus. They, and they only,

have visible right to enter into, and walk in the visible order of Christs house, and so to wait for his comming, whom Christ Jesus himself being the Lord of the house, hath appointed, and his Apostles being his stewards, have approved of; But such as first have been taught and made disciples or Scholars of Jesus, and believers in Christ, and afterwards have been baptized or dipped and thereby visibly & lively planted into the death, burial, and resurrection of Christ, are they, and they only, whom Christ hath appointed and the Apostles have approved of. See his Commission, peruse their practice; *Ergo* They, and they only, have visible right to enter into, and walk in the order of Christs house, and so to wait for his coming the second time, in the form of a King, with his glorious Kingdom, according to promise. See for a farther confirmation of the last clause, in the first Epistle to the *Corinthians* 1. 7. 1 *The.* 1. 10. 2. *The.* 3. 5. But to proceed.

[*He is the person that is also to wait for his Lords sending down from the right hand of his father in the time of his absence the holy Ghost, or holy Spirit of promise, and all this according to the last will and testament of that living Lord.*] That this living Lord did promise when he left this present evil world, that is in a great measure subjected to devils, and went to his Father, not only to return again, but in the time of his absence (as a testimony of his great love unto such as are called to be his disciples, & manifest the same by loving him & keeping his commandments, and as a testimony of his loving acceptance at the right hand of his Father) to send down the holy Spirit, which should be in them as a well-spring of living water flowing forth unto eternall life, who being a Spirit of truth, and sent by Christ who is the truth which God will exalt, shall glorifie him, take of him and his, and shew unto them, and so lead them from truth to truth, until he hath brought them into all truth: as a comforter or Spirit of comfort, shall fill their hearts with joy in believing, by bearing witness with their spirits, that they are the children of God, and by revealing unto them the precious things w^{ch} God hath prepared for them that love him, which neither eye hath seen, nor ear hath heard,

neither hath it entred into the heart of man to conceive; and as a holy Spirit shall set them apart that are justified by the blood of his Son, unto the holy God, and sanctifie them throughout in soul, and spirit, and body; and as a Spirit of supplication shall help them to speak unto God; and as a Spirit of prophecy to speak unto men: that this Lord I say did promise unto his disciples, who love him and keep his commandments, in the time of his absence the presence of such a Spirit as this, which hath supplies in him beyond what the soul lacks, and that therefore they are to wait for this promise, and for these supplies in his appointments, will clearly appear.

1. Out of the words of the Lord himself. See *Iohn* 14. 15, 16, 17. so v. 26. *chap.* 15. 26. *chap.* 16. 7, 8. so v. 13, 14, 15. five times in that night in which he was betrayed doth he repeat that promise, to his Disciples that loved him and kept his commandments, and that he intended the same unto other visible disciples that should love him and keep his commandments unto the end of the world, will also appear; for if the appointment of Christ, *sci.* the supper that went before, and is exprest chapter the 13. and the prayer of Christ that followed after, and is exprest chapter 17. did belong unto them that should believe through their word till he come again, then this promise that is so often repeated between, doth as well belong unto them, as to these; but the former is true; See *Iohn* 17. 20. 1. *Cor.* 11. 26. therefore the later.

If the consequence be denied, it will still be proved out of Christs own words; See *Iohn* 7. 37, 38. and the consideration even in reason of Christs exceeding love and tender care towards all his disciples that love him and keep his commandments, and their sensible wants of the same supplies of the Spirit will clearly evince it.

2. It will clearly appear out of the words of the Apostles of Christ; See *Iohns* interpretation of these words of Christ, *Out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water, This spake he (saith Iohn) of the Spirit which they that believe on him should receive, for the holy Spirit was not yet, because Iesus was not yet glorified,* *Iohn* 7. 29. See also what they all say with one mouth, after they had received this holy Spirit with power, whereby they were furnished

as Apostles or Embassadors (of him that had all power in heaven and earth in his hand) to go forth with the embassage of peace into all Nations, and could deliver the mind of their Lord unto them in their own language, *Acts 2. 38. 39. Repent and be baptized every one of you in the name of Iesus, for the remission of sins & ye shall receive the gift of the holy Spirit, for the promise is to you, and to your children, and to all that are a far off, as many (of all these) as the Lord our God shall call, sci. to repentance from dead works, to faith in Christ Iesus, to this visible manifestation thereof by being baptised, and so visibly planted into the death, buriall, and resurrection of Christ for the remission of sins.*

3. This will also appear by the enjoyments of those that first trusted in Christ, and visibly manifested their faith and love in and to the Lord, by keeping his commandments: The Disciples which were also called Apostles, waiting in the appointment of their Lord at *Jerusalem*, received and were filled with that holy Spirit, with power according to promise. See *Acts 1. 4.* compared with *2. 2.* So that great number that were about three or rather five thousand souls that believed through their word, were baptised in Jerusalem, and waited in the appointments of the same Lord, that is to say, *together steadfastly in the Apostles doctrine, and in fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayer*, they also enjoied this holy Spirit according to promise. See *Acts 4. 31.* The like may be found among the Saints in *Samaria, Acts 8, 17.* in *Ephesus, Acts 19.* And the same may be found among the Saints that thus put on Christ, and walked in him, among those that first trusted in him in all places. See it in the *Romans* chap. 5. 5. and chap. 8. at large. See it in the *Corinthians* Epistle 1. chap. 2. 10. 12. and 6. 11. 19. and ch. 12. at large. In the *Galathians* ch. 3. 2. 4. 6. In the *Ephesians* chap. 1. 13. In the *Philippians* chap. 3. 3. In the *Colossians* chap. 1. 8. In the *Thesalonians* Ep. 1. chap. 1. 5, 6. and chap. 5. 19. This promise is also found true in the litle children that *Iohn* writes to, and is often repeated, 1 *Iohn 3. 24. 4. 13.* and in the 2. 27. he speaks unto them after this manner, *but the anointing* (speaking of this holy Spirit of promise)

which ye have received of him, abideth in you, and (such is his supply) that you need not that any man teach you, but as the same anointing teacheth you of all things, and is truth and is no lie, even as it hath taught you ye shall abide in him: And now litle Children abide in him, &c. And Iude telleth us, that the very ground why some that had made a profession of the faith, and order of Iesus, caused divisions and offences, contrary to that doctrine they had received, and separated themselves, was, because they were sensuall, not having this Spirit, *Iude* 19. And as all this hath been proved by the last Will and Testament of that living Lord, so is it also clear, that his Will is not to be added to, or taken from, compare *Gal.* 3. 15. with *Rev.* 22. 18, 19. which notwithstanding if any man shall attempt to do, let him know this Lord is alive, and will ere-long appear sufficiently able to avenge it.

3. [*I testifie that every such servant of Christ Iesus, may in point of liberty, yea ought in point of duty, to improve that talent which his Lord hath given unto him*] That it is their duty to improve the talent the Lord hath given unto them, and that for that end it was also given, will appear by those two instances of the Lord himself, the first is *Mat.* 5. 13, 14, 15. *Ye (saith the Lord to his Disciples) are the salt of the earth, the light of the world, &c. neither do men light a candle and put it under a bushell, but on a candlestick;* whereby he intimates, that if it be far from the intention of men (who are but weak and foolish in their intentions and actions) to light a candle which is for use, and then to put it under a bushell, and so make it useless; then much further from the purpose and intention of God, who is the father of lights, to enlighten the spirit of a man, which is the candle of the Lord, and then to have that light concealed and with-held; therefore it follows, *let your light (saith the Lord) so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorifie your father which is in heaven.* The other instance is in the 19th chapter of *Luke* 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16. to the 27. verse, in which Parable is lively declared by the Lord, 1. That that glorious Kingdome of God that shall certainly appear, should not so immediately appear as some thought it should, for which end is the Parable spoken verse 11.

and the first words of the Parable will prove the same thing, for the Noble-man (which is Christ Iesus the Lord) must first go into a far country to receive his Kingdome, which is to the right hand of the Father, there to sit untill all his enemies become his footstool, and so return. 2. Here is declared the order in which this Lord left this household, when he went to receive his Kingdome, he bestowed gifts or talents upon them, and commands them as his servants, in their severall places to occupy till he come, verse 13. which proves that, for which I produced this Scripture; and for further encouragement unto a servant of Christ to improve that Talent in his Lords service that he hath bestowed upon him, 3. In the third place is declared the exceeding great countenance, and rich reward which this Lord will bestow upon a faithfull servant that hath thus improved his Talent, when he shall have received the Kingdome, and shall return in the glory of his Father; the countenance (I say) appears in these words, *he will say, well*, or as it is in the 25 of *Matthew, well done thou good and faithful servant, thou hast been faithful in a few things*; the rich Reward appears in these. *Enter into the joy of thy Lord, or have thou Authority* (in my Kingdom) *over ten Cities, be thou also ruler over five Cities, &c.* But to proceed.

[*And in the congregation he may either ask for information to himself*] This was a liberty amongst the *Jews* in their synagogues or congregations, as appears *Luke 2. 46.* where Christ being about twelve years old, is found by his parents among the Doctors, in the Temple, not only hearing them, but asking them questions; and when he also taught in the Temple, or elsewhere, the people did not only hear him, but asked him questions, yea made objections against what was delivered, without interruption, and it cannot be conceived but this is much more a liberty in the congregations, and Churches of Christ; and therefore *1 Cor. 14. 35.* where women are directed to ask their husbands at home if they will learn, and the reason is given because it is a shame for them to speak in the Church, it is plainly declared, that men that will learn may ask in the Church, for it is not a shame for them to speak there. But to proceed.

[*Or if he can, he may speak by way of prophecy for the edification, exhortation, and comfort of the whole*] by prophecy here I mean a plain, and brief declaration of the mind, and counsel of God, in words significantly and easie to be understood, confirmed by the words of the Apostles and Prophets of God, and brought forth for the edification, exhortation, and comfort of the whole; The 14 of the 1 *Cor.* will plentifully clear this truth, and make this liberty good unto the Saints, in the Churches of Christ, and it cannot be shut out but by the spirit of Antichrist. See *verse* 1. 5. 12. 24. 26. 30, 31. 39, 40. So 1 *The.* 5. 19, 20. Quench not the Spirit, is the exhortation to him that is thereby moved to speak; and despise not prophecies, is the exhortation to them that are present to hear. But to proceed.

[*And out of the congregation at all times, upon all occasions, and in all places, as far as the jurisdiction of his Lord extends*] which is not only to the utmost parts of the Earth, but also to heaven. See *Mat.* 28. 18. *Heb.* 1. 2. *Ephes.* 1. 20, 21, 22.

[*May (yea ought to) walk as a Child of light, justifying wisdom with her waies, and reprovng folly with the unfruitful words thereof, provided, &c.* For a warrant here, see *Deu.* 6. 7. *Mat.* 5. 14. 16. 10. 32, 33. 11. 19. *Eph.* 5. 11. *Act* 4. 20. *Jam.* 3. 13. And so have I done also with the 3d. Conclusion, the fourth followeth.

4. [*I testify that no servant of Christ Jesus hath any liberty, much less authority, from his Lord, to smite his Fellow-servant*] This will be evinced to be a truth many waies from the mouth of the Lord.

1. In that it is the great commandment of this Lord to his disciples, and servants, to love one another, and so to bear one anothers burdens, who ought to have their love stronger than death, so as to lay down their lives for the brethren. See *John* 13. 34. 15. 17. 1 *John* 3. 23. 4. 21. *Gal.* 6. 2. 1 *John* 3. 16. Now to smite one another is a breach of that Law of Love in a very high degree. Therefore.

2. The servants of Christ are called upon by their Lord to learn of him to be meek, and lowly, and are put thereby into a capacity to be further taught the way, and fear

of the Lord, to increase their joy, and they are such as shall inherit the earth, and also heaven, for they shall find rest for their souls; and this meek, quiet and gentle Spirit is declared by the Spirit of the Lord to be an ornament of very great price. See for a proof of all this *Mat.* 11. 29. 21. 5. *Psalm* 25. 9. *Isaiah* 29. 19. *Mat.* 5. 5. 1 *Pet.* 3. 4. But to smite is an argument of a domineering, proud, and lofty spirit, which is far from a Spirit that is meek and lowly. Therefore 3. The servants of Christ are called upon by their Lord to be so far from smiting their fellows, that in case they should be smitten by others for his, and the Gospels sake, meerly on one cheek, they should rather turn the other, than seek to revenge it. See *Luke* 6. 20. *Rom.* 12. 17. 1 *Cor.* 6. 7. *why do ye not rather take wrong* (saith the Apostle) *why do you not rather suffer your selves to be defrauded?* but this is far from smiting one another. Therefore, &c.

4. This Lord being also that Prince of Peace, doth so far dislike such practices as these among any servants of his, that belong to his house, that he hath absolutely and expressly declared, that he by no means will have a striker to supply the Office of an Elder, or Steward therein, no nor one that is of a Lordly, or domineering spirit, nor yet one that is froward, and will be soon angry. See in the first Epistle of *Timothy* 3. 3. *Titus* 1. 7. *Peter* 5. 3. Therefore, &c.

5. That no servant of Christ hath such authority from his Lord to smite his fellows, doth plainly appear in that Parable *Mat.* 18. 34. where it is said, *The Lord was so wroth that he will have that wicked servant delivered to the tormentors*, that did but take his fellow by the throat; and him that fell to smiting his fellowes in his Lords absence: *Mat.* 24. 51. it is said, *The Lord shall come upon, in a day when he looked not for him, and in an hour that he is not awar of, and shall cut him asunder, and appoint him his portion with the hypocrits, where shall be weeping, and gnashing of teeth.* But to proceed in the testimony, where it is said,

[No nor yet with outward force, or arm of flesh to constrain, or restrain anothers conscience, nor yet his outward man for conscience sake, or worship of his God, &c.] That

this is a truth will be made out by the Scriptures of truth, and that many waies. The first argument to prove it standeth thus.

1. *Arg.* If any Servant of Christ Jesus (be he high, or low, rich, or poor,) have any such liberty, or authority from his Lord so to do, then he is able to shew it, (as that which may be his warrant so to act) either out of the words of the Lord himself, or out of those that were spoken, or writ by the Apostles, which were his Ambassadors, and were furnished from their Lord with commands for his Servants observance until he come again.

But no servant of Christ (I suppose) is able to shew, either out of his own words, or out of the words of the Apostles, any such liberty or authority from the Lord, as that which may be his warrant so to do. Therefore.

The first Proposition cannot be denied, which is this, If any servant of Christ Jesus have any such authority from his Lord, he is able to shew it, either out of his own words, or from the Apostles. And indeed for a man to act in the name of the Lord, and not to have a word, or warrant from him, is high presumption, and so will it appear if these things be considered.

1. In that it is plainly declared, *That all power in heaven, and in earth, is given unto Christ*, and therefore must all authority in heaven, and in earth, be derived from him; and hence it is, that it concerns the feet and the toes of that great image, if it be possible, to stand clear of him who is that little stone cut out without hands, and shall ere long become a great mountain, and fill the Earth.

2. In that it is as plainly declared, that the living God hath in these last daies spoken by Christ, *Heb. 1. 1.* hath made him the heir of all things, and thereupon hath called upon every one that hath an ear to hear him, hath threatned that soul that will not hear him that he shall be cut of; therefore it concerns every servant of his to take heed he use no such authority over another which he hath not heard and received from Christ.

3. In that it is declared that Christ Jesus the Lord is that one law-giver, and that they are blessed that do his commandements, yea, so blessed, that the Apostle saith he

is become the author of eternall salvation to those that obey him, and that he is also the Judge unto whom the living God, hath appointed a great, and notable, and terrible day, in which and by whom he will *Judge the world in righteousness*, yea, the very secrets of mens hearts, according to his gospel. See *James* 4. 12. *Rev.* 22. 14. *Heb.* 5. 9. *Acts* 10. 42. and 17. 31. *Rom.* 2. 16. From which consideration it also appears, that it concerns the servants of Christ, that they despise not such a Law-giver and such a Judge as he is, in taking such liberty, or exercising such authority, over other mens consciences, which cannot be made out from his words that he hath given them; all which, as so many arguments, will prove the first proposition.

And as for the second, which is this, *sci.* No servant of Christ can shew a warrant from Christ for such an authority, either out of his own words, or his Apostles; if that be denied, we must then call for the warrant, which must be shewed either out of the Evangelists, the book of the Acts of the Apostles, the Apostles Epistles, or the Revelation of Jesus: but I suppose it cannot be shewn out of any of these. If the 13. of the *Romans* be produced for a warrant, no man can deny that the power there spoken of was such as belonged to a heathen, and I think no man will acknowledge that he had such an authority from Christ to order mens consciences, or outward man, with respect to the worship of God, and therefore that word cannot be their warrant.

If the words of *Paul*, *Gal.* 5. 12. I would they were cut off that trouble you, be produced for a warrant, let the words be considered (and in the first place) there is no mention made of outward force, or outward affliction, and therefore no warrant for any outward or carnall hand so to afflict; but 2. The words were spoken to the Churches in *Galatia*, which were spirituall societies, and concerning spirituall transgressors, and therefore their cutting off must be from that spirituall relation and union which hitherto they enjoyed, and how that is done, compare 3. *Acts* 23. with *Mat.* 18. 8. 17. *Rom.* 11. 17. 19. 20. 22. And the carnall cutting off from the carnall *Israel* (before the time of reformation) was but a type of this spirituall

cutting off and casting out from the spirituall *Israel* of God since.

And thirdly, consider, the words were spoken by the Apostle *Paul*, who would have us to know (as he declares it, *2 Cor.* 10. 4.) that the weapons of his warfare were not carnall, he was not wont to strive with them that opposed themselves with carnall weapons, and therefore if he speaks to such persons as these *Galatians* were (that had received such power from the Lord) touching a cutting off, which is a business that belongs to a sword, it would be too carnall an understanding of the place to conceive that this should be done by any other sword, than by the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God, and can reach to their Spirits, and is the only offensive weapon the Saints are to take in such cases as this against their spirituall opposers; and so have I done with the first Argument. A second, to evince this, is taken from that law wherewith Christ Jesus, that Sonne of Righteousness, hath more or less enlightened the Nations, which I may therefore call the law of Nations, being that law by which the Lord will Judge those which may otherwise be said to be without law: the Law is this, Do, as thou wouldst be done unto, which is also (as Christ speaks) the Law and the Prophets. The argument standeth thus.

2. *Arg.* If every servant of Christ Jesus have a commandement from his Lord, as he will answer it before him when he shall appear as Judge, to do to others, as he would have others to do unto him; then no servant of his can have either liberty or authority from him thus to force another mans conscience, or his outward man merely for conscience sake.

But every servant of Christ hath this command from his Lord, *viz.* Do to others as ye would that others should do unto you. Therefore, &c.

The second proposition is undeniable. See 7. *Mat.* 12. *Luk.* 6. 31. The consequence of the first proposition can scarce be denied, but if any should rashly deny it, then I appeal to that mans conscience, not being seared, which also knows but in part, in the sight & presence of God, whether he can be willing that another who is further in-

formed in the things of God, and is also stronger than he (whether he can be willing, I say, that he) should by such a force constrain or restrain his conscience, although in smaller differences, but how much less in things that do so vastly differ.

3 *Arg.* The third argument standeth thus.

If Christ Jesus the Lord instructed his servants to be meek, lowly, and gentle, yea, kind and curteous to all; sent forth the chieftest of them, and told them that they should be as lambs in the midst of wolves; yea, holds them and us, and all that shall reign with Christ, when he shall appear with his Kingdome, in a continuall expectation of a persecuted and afflicted condition in this present evil world, then it cannot be expected that they should have any such liberty, much less authority, from him thus to persecute, prosecute, or inforce others.

But the first is true. See *Mat.* 11. 29. 1 *Cor.* 13. 4. *Eph.* 4. 34. 1 *Pet.* 3. 8. *Mat.* 10. *Tim.* 2. 3. 12. All that will live Godly in Christ Jesus (saith *Paul*, who well discerned the spirit that was abroad, & that which should remain and increase in the world) shall suffer persecution, and the servant is not greater than his Lord, saith Christ, *Mat.* 10. 24, 25. So that by this it appears, that the first is true, and therefore the second which is this, *That no servant of Christ can expect any such liberty or authority from his Lord thus to persecute, prosecute, or inforce others.*

A Fourth argument against forcing men against their consciences, in the things, and worship of God, is taken from the nature of the conscience of man, and of the worship of God, which are both spiritual; and it standeth thus.

4. *Arg.* That which the Lord hath reserved in his own hand, and hath intended to mannage as part of his own Kingdome by his own power or Spirit, and by another manner of ministry, and sword, than that which is put forth in the Kingdoms of men, his being such as suits with the understanding and conscience of man, as it's a spiritual thing, and with the worship of God, which is also spiritual, that, I say, can no servant of Christ have authority from him, by an other sword, or arm of flesh, to undertake, mannage, or think to effect.

But the Lord hath reserved this great work of ordering the understanding, and conscience, which is the spirit of man, by way of constraint, or restraint; and also the outward man, with respect to the worship of God, I say, he hath reserved this great work, in his own hand, and in the hand of the Spirit, and hath intended to manage it as a part of his Kingdome, by his own Spirit, and by another manner of ministry, than that which is put forth in the Kingdoms of men. Therefore, &c.

The first proposition, I judge, cannot be denied, because if it be by him reserved in his own hand and power, then by his authority it cannot be in the hand of another; and if intended by him to be mannaged by another manner of ministry and sword, than that which is put forth in the Kingdomes of men, then not by the same.

And as for the second, it will appear to be a truth by these following testimonies.

1. That the great work of ordering the understanding and conscience, which is the spirit of a man, by way of constraint or restraint; and also the outward man, with respect to the worship of God, is reserved (as a part of his Kingdome, the spirits of men being the throne of the Lord) in his own hand, and in the hand of the Spirit, doth appear *Luke* 17. 26. *Rom.* 11. 32. *Isa.* 45. 22. *Zach.* 4. 6. *Prov.* 2. 6. *Iam.* 1. 5. *Io.* 1. 9. *Luke* 24. 45. *2 Cor.* 4. 6. *Eph.* 1. 18, 19. *Acts* 2. 47. 11. 21. And

2. That he hath intended to mannage it by another manner of sword, or ministry, than that which is put forth in the Kingdoms of men, is also evident, in that he did neither speak to, nor yet make use of the Kings of the earth to make him disciples, nor yet call for their sword to constrain them or others to the worship of God, or to restrain them from their own, although it was performed to dumb Idols, and so unto devils; but made use of the sword of the Spirit, which is his own word, & the ministry of his Apostles, and servants, to hold it forth to the world, and thereby were disciples made unto him, and so by him brought from their own to the worship and service of God. See *Io.* 16. 8, 9, 10, 11. 26. *Acts* 15 16. 18. 1 *The.* 1. 8, 9. ch. 2. 13. *Heb* 4 12.

The fifth Argument against forcing mens consciences,

or rather the outward man for conscience sake in the worship of God, standeth thus.

5. *Arg.* That which presupposeth one man to have dominion over another mans conscience, and is but a forcing of Servants, and worshippers upon the Lord, at the least, which he seeks not for, and is the ready way to make men dissemblers and hypocrites before God and man, which wisemen abhor, and to put men upon the profaning the name of the Lord, that can no servant of Christ Jesus have any liberty, much less authority, from his Lord to do.

But by outward force to seek to constrain, or restrain an others conscience in the worship of God, &c. doth presuppose one man to have dominion over another mans conscience, and is but to force servants, and worshippers upon the Lord, which he seeks not for, and is the ready way to make men dissemblers and hypocrites, and to put them upon the profaning the name of the Lord. Therefore, &c.

The first proposition is undeniable, because it is evident that it is not the will of the Lord that any one should have dominion over another mans conscience; no not such as had the largest power and presence of the Spirit of God, and the largest interest in the hearts of his people, as had the Apostles, Elders, and Brethren: See 1 *Cor.* 8, 11, 12. 10. 29. 1 *Pet.* 5. 3. *Phil.* 3. 15. 2 *Cor.* 1. 23, 24. & chap. 4. 5. for this indeed would be to enter upon the throne of Christ, to sit in the Temple of God, and is the very highest design of the spirit of Antichrist. See 2 *Thess.* 2. 4. 1 *Cor.* 3. 10. And for any man to enter upon the throne of Christ to set a foot into the Temple of God, is to defile it, and he that defiles the Temple of God, (saith the Apostle) him shall God destroy. And for a man to put servants and worshippers upon the Lord, when he would not have others to put servants upon him, and make men dissemble, when if he be a wise man, he cannot but hate dissembling, must needs be much more abomination to the Lord, so that the first proposition (as I said) cannot be denied.

The second will easily be proved in each particular thereof. As

1. This forcing of all to conform in the worship of God,

doth presuppose one man to have dominion or Lordship over another mans conscience, for who knows not that the worship of God is a case of conscience, and that that worship and service that is pleasing to him, must have the spirit and conscience the chief in it? and therefore, that man which by outward force would cause others to conform in point of worship, must pre-suppose to have power over his spirit and conscience, to cause it to conform likewise, or else he cannot attain unto his Religious intent.

2. This is but a forcing of servants and worshipers upon the Lord, and I say at the best, for it is more likely to force worshippers from him; And this will cleerly appear, because the true worshipers, and such as the father seeks for, are such as worship him in Spirit, and in Truth: See *John* 4. 23, 24. who having received from Christ the Spirit of life and love, have his word stand in their heart, as the word of a King, so that thereby they become a willing people to do him service, and stand not in need of such outward force to compell them thereto; they therefore that stand in need to be, and therefore are by outward force compelled to the worship of God, to the faith and order of the gospel of Christ (they I say) are such servants, and worshipers, as are forc'd upon the Lord, whom he seeks not for.

This outward forcing men in the worship of God, is the ready way to make men dissemblers and hypocrites before God, and men which wise men abhor; the truth of this will be thus demonstrated; for if they be spirituall, true, and willing worshipers, such as the Father seeks for, then what need is there of a constraint or restraint? such are a law of life to themselves; but if they be not, then what make they there before him, who calls for the heart, and wisheth men to look to their spirits, for he is a Spirit, and will be sanctified of all those that draw neer unto him? See *Prov.* 23. 26. *Mal.* 2. 15. *Rev.* 10. 3, 4. Then as they are forced upon the Lord against his will, and without any warrant from him, so are they also against their own, and therefore although their bodies may be present, and through fear of the stroke, or hope of reward, may seem to conform, yet their hearts and

minds not being changed (and the strong holds thereof not being beaten down, as by such carnall weapons they are never likely to be) they I say, are absent, and far from the Lord; so then, while their hearts, and consciences, still cleave to their Idols, and yet their bodies are caused to conform, what is this but to make men dissemblers and hypocrites before God and man? and that it is the way to put men upon the profaning the name of the Lord, is also evident; understand by name his attributes, word, ordinances, worship, they are all profaned by such a person that stands in need to be forc'd to Religion. See *Hag.* 2. 13, for him to call upon the name of the Lord, is to profane the name of the Lord, for their prayers are abomination to him, *Gen.* 4. 26. *Prov.* 28. 9. *Isay* 1. 13. And a calling the name of God or Christ upon such, is counted by him a blaspheming his name. See *Rev.* 2. 9. 13. 1. 5, 6. and unto the wicked saith God, *Psal.* 50. 16. *What hast thou to do to declare my statutes, or to take my Covenant in thy mouth, Seeing thou hatest instruction, and castest my words behind thee?* By all which it doth evidently appear, that the second proposition doth also stand firm.

A sixth argument against the forcing of men against their understandings and consciences, is taken from the prohibition of Christ, and stands thus.

6. *Arg.* If Christ Iesus the Lord hath expresly forbidden his servants by such a force to seek to constrain or restrain another mans conscience, or his outward man against his understanding and conscience, in things appertaining to God, although his understanding and conscience be cleerly discerned to be erroneous and evil, then can no servant of Christ Iesus have any liberty, much less authority, from him so to practise; This cannot be denied.

But Christ Iesus the Lord hath expresly forbidden his servants so to practise, and for the proof hereof, take two or three instances, *Mat.* 15. 14. where Christ speaking to his disciples, touching the Pharisees, who were blind guides, seducers, hypocrites, strong opposers of Christ, yet seemingly full of zeal and devotion, and such as brought a vanity upon the worship of God, and made his commandements of none effect by their traditions, as appears, v. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. of the same chapter, yet v 14. saith

Christ to his disciples, let them alone, they are blind, leaders of the blind, and so leaves them to that sad event, which is, their falling into the ditch, or perishing together. See the parable of the wheat and the tares, *Mat.* 13. 24. interpreted by Christ himself, v. 37, 38. *And he that soweth the good seed (saith Christ) is the Son of man, The field is the world, the good seed are the children of the Kingdome* (which being sown by the son of man, must needs be meant faithfull and sincere-hearted proffessors of the truth of the gospell :) *But the tares (saith he) are the children of the wicked one, and the enemy that soweth them is the devill,* which being the children of the wicked one, and sown by the devill after the children of the Kingdome, must needs be meant such as crept in unawars, and were sent in as *Paul* speaketh, See *Gal.* 24. to spie out the Saints liberties, that they might bring them into bondage, and so were formall Professors of Christ at the first, but afterwards discovered to be Hereticks, Schismaticks, Apostats, Blasphemers, such as was *Hymintus, Phyletus, Alexander, Demas,* and such false teachers as *Peter* speaks of, *2 Pet.* 2. 12. *That should bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them,* and bring upon themselves swift destruction, whose pernicious wayes many should follow ; by reason of whom the way of truth should be evill spoken of: but to go on, *the harvest,* saith Christ, *is the end of the world, and the reapers are no other than the angels ;* Now the question (for our instruction in righteousness) being made by the servants unto their Lord, when the tares were discovered, whether it was his will that they should go and gather them up, and take them out of the field, his first answer, v. 29. is nay, and the reason he renders, is this, *lest while ye gather up the tares, ye root up also the wheat with them ;* And the next answer, v. 30. is an express word of command, *that they should let both grow together in the field,* which is the world, and untill the time of the harvest, which is the end thereof, and then his purpose is to speak to the reapers, which are not men but Angels, to gather them up, and bind them in bundles to burn them. I shall produce but one instance more to shew that our Lord Jesus forbids such a practice as this among his Disciples or servants, *2. Tim.* 2. 24, 25,

26. *The servant of the Lord*, saith *Paul*, in the word of the Lord, *must not strive, but be gentle unto all men, apt to teach, not to strike, patient in meekness, instructing those that oppose themselves*; which word signifieth a setting a mans selfe in an opposition to the truth in a more than ordinary manner, even by way of covenant or resolution of spirit, yet are they still to be waiting with meekness upon them, *if God at any time will give them repentance to the acknowledgement of the truth, that they may recover themselves out of the snares of the devil, who are taken captive by him at his will.*

Another argument that there can be no warrant from Christ for such a practice as this, is taken from such expressions of his, whereby he shews his dislike thereof, and it standeth thus.

7. *Arg.* If Christ Jesus the Lord have sharply reprov'd and checked his servants when he hath espied such a spirit as this but breaking forth in them, then can no servant of his have any countenance, much less authority from him so to practise. But the first is true, he hath sharply reprov'd them when he espied such a spirit as this but breaking forth, witness his words *Luke* 22. 24. 25. &c. *Joh.* 18. 10. 11. *Mat.* 26. 51. 52, 53, 54, & *Luke.* 9. 46. 47. & 49, 50. & 52, 53, 54. 55. 56. where it is said, when the *Samaritans* perceived that Christs face was towards *Ierusalem* they did so envy him for *Ierusalems* sake, which was the place of Gods worship, that they would not receive him nor afford unto him such common curtesie as belonged unto strangers, for which discourteous repulse of their Lord and master, *James* and *Iohn* in a preposterous zeal judged, that they deserved to dy, and thereupon moved the question to Christ in these words, verse, 55. *Wilt thou that we command fire to come down from heaven and consume them?* but what is the answer of Christ? it is said, *he turned, and rebuked them, saying, ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of.* They were scarce awar that they were hereunto moved, by no other spirit than the spirit of Antichrist, for saith he, *The Son of man is not come to destroy mens lives, but to save them,* and if he came into this world to save mens lives, and not to destroy them, and will have his Servants to learn of

him meekness, and mercy, and to be as he was in this present evil world, I say, if he came to save mens lives, even the rebellious, then no servant of his can have any authority from him for such cases as these to destroy them.

The last Argument standeth thus.

8. *Arg.* That which of it self is inconsistent with the civil peace, liberty, prosperity and safety of a Place, Commonwealth or nation, no servant of Christ Jesus can have liberty, much less authority from his Lord to do. But this outward forcing of men in matters of conscience towards God to believe as others believe, and to practise and worship as others do, cannot stand with the Peace, Liberty, Prosperity, and safety of a Place, Commonwealth, or nation. Therefore no servant of Christ can have any liberty, much less authority so to doe.

The first proposition can scarce be denied if these things be considered *sci.* That Christ Iesus the Lord is the Prince of Peace, *Isa.* 9. 6. *Heb.* 7. 2. and the more a man is made partaker of, and led by the Spirit of the Lord, which is the Spirit of Peace, the more peaceable and quiet is he like to be towards all those with whom he hath to do, for this Prince of Peace hath given express command unto all his Servants, who are the Children of Peace (in whose hearts his word stands, with power, as the word of a King) to be at peace among themselves, 1 *Thes.* 5. 13. *To love in peace.* 2 *Cor.* 13. 11. *To follow peace with all men,* *Heb.* 12. 14. *To seek peace and ensue it,* 1. *Pet.* 3. 11. *To follow after those things that make for peace,* *Rom.* 24. 19. *If it be possible as much as in them lyeth to have peace with all men,* *Rom.* 22. 16. *Yea not to seek their own, but every man anothers wealth,* 1 *Cor.* 10. 24. *To seek the peace of the place, where God hath bounded his habitation, yea, and to pray unto God for it, and for the rulers thereof,* *Jer.* 29. 7. 1. *Tim.* 2. 2. By all which it doth evidently appear, that that which of it self cannot stand with the peace and prosperity of a place, and nation, that can be servant of Christ have by the authority of this Lord, unless by a just judgement from him upon the rulers of this world for giving their power, and sword, to the beast, thus to be chused and made drunk with the blood of the Saints, which his tender heart cannot but

avenge upon themselves, and upon the Nations for their loving to have it so.

And as for the second Proposition, which is this, that this outward forcing of men in matters of conscience towards God to believe as others believe, and to practise and worship, not as themselves (but as others) are perswaded cannot stand with the peace, liberty, prosperity, and safety of a Place, Nation, and Commonwealth; this will as plainly appear in the examination of each particular thereof.

And first, it cannot stand with the peace of a Commonwealth, for as there could be no peace expected in the *Israel* of old, so long as that harlot *Jezabell* (who thirsted after innocent blood) could at her pleasure obtain the seal and power of the King, to effect her bloody design upon the servants of the Lord, who withstood her Idolatrous Priests, and that Idolatrous way and worship which they had set up, so likewise as long as that spirituall *Jezabell* among those that account themselves the *Israel* of God, (who is seen in *Rev.* 17. 3. to ride upon that scarlot-coloured beast, and to own herself as the City and spouse of that great King, the King of Saints, so long I say as she, can by her glorious deckings and splendours, so deceive and allure the Kings and Rulers of the earth, to commit fornication with her, and to give their sword and power to the beast that bears her up, there can be no expectation of peace in the earth, but still of wars, and rumors of wars, untill mens hearts fail them: for so long as there is an outward force or power to be had to maintain and uphold the carnall interests and advantages of some upon religious accounts, and so prosecute others, who for conscience sake towards God, dare not, yea cannot conform to their way. What hopes are hereby begotten and nourished in some? what jealousies, suspicions and fears in others? what revengefull desires in most? yea, what plottings and contrivings in all? and as a fruit and effect hereof, what riding? running? troublesome, and tumultuous assemblings together, and sidings? yea, and outrageous murderings and bloodshedings are hereby produced in a Nation, to gain that power and sword to their party, either to crush, suppress, or cause the other to conform, or

at the least and best to save themselves from being crushed, suppressed or forced to conformity? But were this snare of the destroyer and murderer once discovered and broken, which is under a specious and religious pretence of doing God good service, to oppress and slay his innocent servants and children, and to force men to that which their minds and consciences are not perswaded unto, which is worse than Idolatry; or at least would it please the most high to help the Kings and Rulers of the earth, to take King *Davids* counsell, *Psal. 2. which is, to kiss the son lest he be angry, and in his anger smite that glorious Image,* (which *Nebuchadnezzar* saw in his dream) *Dan. 2. 31, 32, 33, 34. upon his feet, that were part of iron, and part of clay, and so break them to peeces, that the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold be broken to peeces together, become as chaff, and sovanish away, that there should no place be found for them; And would it please the most high to put it into their hearts, to manage that power and sword of steel which he hath put into their hands (and takes out again at his good pleasure) so that it might onely attend the very thing for which it is bestowed upon them, which is to do justly, and to shew mercy, as those that walk (in such eminent places) humbly before the Lord, which are things more pleasing to him, then such burnt offerings and sacrifices, although they amounted to thousands of rams, or ten thousands of rivers of oyl, especially being such as he hath not required at their hands, how soon would the earth which now is moved exceedingly, reel to and fro like a drunkard, and is removed like a cottage, become a quiet and peaceable habitation, for if there were neither fear on one hand, nor hope on the other, that this sword should be drawn forth to maintain the carnall interest of some, which they enjoy upon religious pretences, and to suppress the understandings and consciences of others, to the hazard of their proper and lawfull interest and outward enjoyments, and all men should see the Rulers as resolute in this point as *Galle* was, so that men of all sects and religions, which now are pious, were become hopeless of any other help to support themselves and their way, or to draw others thereto, than what by the*

word of God they can attain unto, how soon would these tumults cease, the enmity in point of Religion be slain, and all things be in peace? and for my part I cannot expect that the swords should be beaten into plowshares, and spears into the pruning-kooks, that nation shall not rise against nation, neither shall they learn war any more, which is a thing which the mouth of the Lord hath spoken of, untill that be accomplished which should occasion it, which is [expressed] by the Prophet in these words, *For all people will walk every one in the name of his God, and we will walk in the name of the Lord our God forever and ever.* Micha. 4. 3, 4, 5.

And as his forcing of men for their conscience sake, cannot stand with the peace of a Nation or Commonwealth, so neither can it stand with the liberty thereof, as those two instances *Rev.* 13. 10. and 15. 16, 17, together with daily experience, doe lively demonstrate, in which Scriptures it is plain to be seen, that whilst the Beast reigneth, through the power of the Kings of the Earth, all are restrained of their liberty, and brought to conformity, they cannot buy nor sel, unless they conform to the Beast, no not the great ones. Kings and Rulers themselves, they shall rather cease to be Kings than cease to conform, when once they have given their power to him, for then they have not been able to stand before him, as Emperors, Kings, Princes and Governors have by wofull experience (through a sad hand of God) found to be true. And as by the righteous judgement of God, they that have upon this accompt killed with the sword, must have a time also to be killed with the sword; so they that have led into captivity, must also be led into captivity; so that by this it appears, it cannot stand with the liberty of a place and Nation.

And that it cannot stand with the prosperity and safety therof will appear from a twofold consideration, the first whereof is with respect to piety, the second to policy.

That which is taken from piety is this, If the matter be duly considered and weighd, it cannot be expected but that this outward constraint or restraint of men in matters of conscience, & for the worship of God (in this present evill world, and by the powers therin) must chiefly

reflect, and light upon such as being called out of the world, can neither conform to worldly vanities, nor worldly worships, but to the pure voice and word of God, and to the testimony of Christ Jesus the Lord, which if true, as indeed it cannot be denied, then it will easily appear to be both unsafe and unprosperous for a state or nation to be found meddling herein, for as much as the Lord of hosts hath said, *he that toucheth you, toucheth the aple of mine eye, Zach. 2. 8. and again, Touch not mine anointed, and do my Prophets no harm, 1 Chron. 16. 22. and King David* had well observed concerning the *Israel* of old, that the Lord suffered no man to do them wrong, but even reproved Kings for their sakes, *Psal. 105. 14.* And if the Lord of hosts who is full of bowels of compassion, be so taken with the oppression of the poor, and sighing of the needy, that he will not long forbear, but will arise, relieve him, and set him in safety from him that puffeth at him, or would insnare him, *Psal. 12. 5.* shall he not much rather avenge his own elect, which give him no rest, but cry night and day unto him? *Luk. 18. 7.* yea, I tell you (saith Christ) he will avenge them speedily. And now how unsafe and unprosperous it is for a Kingdome, or State, to ly thus open to the vengeance of God, which if it breaks forth is like to overturn, overturn, overturn it as the prophet speaks, *Ezek. 21. 25, 26, 27.* will not be a hard thing to discern.

Again it cannot well stand with the prosperity and safety of a State, or Nation; upon a politick ground or consideration. For it best suits with policy (be the power in the hands of Kings and Princes, but especially of States and Commonwealths) 1. To engage (not only one party or sect alone, but) all parties therein to the present power, and to the supporting thereof. 2. To do this (not by giving away any part of the power to any party or sect to oppress or inforce others to their way for their carnal and private respects, for that (as hath been shown) is the way to lose it themselves, except they conform, yea to be brought to conformity, but) to afford its protection equall to all without respect unto any, at least in this, *sci.* keeping them thereby safe, under God, in respect of their persons, names, and estates; 3. And to engage them all

upon the strongest engagements, which are not carnal outward advantage, (they being oftentimes so far from advancing the same, that they prove notable means to make the obstruction) but this, wherein one man may be as well assured that he shall not be forced to another mans understanding and conscience, as that another shall not be forced unto his. Which indeed is an engagement that is stronger than death, the voice of each mans conscience being to him as the voice of his God; by this means shall all parties be deeply obliged to the utmost of their lives and estates, to bear up that power, without which they cannot expect to enjoy peace, liberty, and safety themselves, so shall the rulers also have somewhat more vacancy to consider what it is that the Lord of hosts doth require at their hands, which is to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly before the Lord, *Mic.* 6. 7, 8. And whereas it is added (every man being such &c.) which is to shew that whether such liberty as this should be granted or not in this present world, yet it concerns, and also well becomes the servants of Christ, not to alter their course, but to be still found keeping the commandments of God and the testimony of Jesus, and to be bearing in mind what is said, *Rev.* 12. 11. And they overcame him by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony, and they loved not their lives unto the death; harkning also for his voice, who saith *Rev.* last 20. Surely I come quickly, with the like closing therewith as there is exprest. Amen, even so come Lord Jesus.

FINIS.

LETTER

FROM CERTAIN MINISTERS AND OTHERS OF NEW ENGLAND
TO CROMWELL, UPON HIS APPLICATION TO PERSONS HERE
TO SETTLE IN IRELAND.

[The following letter is copied from the third volume, second series, page 360, of Ellis's Original Letters on English History. The Editor refers to the original thus, "Mss. Soc. Antiq. num. 138. art. 34. Orig.," and remarks: "The Letter here introduced to the Reader was the answer to one of the expedients proposed by Cromwell for gradually improving the condition of that country [Ireland]. Whether any of the New-Englanders absolutely settled in Ireland, in consequence of Cromwell's proposal, the Editor of these volumes is not aware. Some other correspondence probably exists upon the subject. The warmth with which Cromwell's butcheries are applauded in this Letter affords matter of astonishment." Hutchinson, Vol. I. p. 190, says: "Cromwell had been very desirous of drawing off the New-Englanders to people Ireland after his successes there, and the inhabitants of New Haven had serious thoughts of removing, but did not carry their design into execution." It may doubtless be affirmed with truth, that Cromwell's plans as regards the people of the Colony of Massachusetts were equally unsuccessful. C. D.]

RIGHT HONOURABLE

As the state of England hath bene pleased to call you to cheife place of civil and military Command in Ireland, so hath the Lord to admiration prospered your undertakings there and made you a glorious Instrument of the execution of his just vengeance upon those bloody monsters of mankinde, and therein heard the cries of his dyeing and liveing people in Ireland, together with those of his Saynts in both Englands, who have cryed in his eares for vengeance against the inhuman murtherers of his poore people in Ireland; and what can the remnant left of his people there, or the rest of their bretheren in both Englands doe lesse, than thankfully acknowledge amongst

all other wonders of Gods grace done for you and by you, that he hath there also compased you about with his favor as with a sheld, and crowned you with renowned victories over these bloody rebells and enraged enemies of his name and saynts; nor can we doe other then thankfully acknowledge this as a superadded mercy to all the rest, that by his grace he hath kept it in the frame of your heart amidst all the glorious victories which under God you have gotten, thankfully to ascribe the glory thereof to him alone, who is the King of Glory, the Lord of Hoasts mighty in battel, and your pious care in abaseing men and meanes to exalt the Lord in all your Victoryes, as it hath not a little honoured you in our eyes; soe have we looked at the same, as a speaking pledge that God will yet goe on to perfect his admirable worke by you: now therefore Redoubted Worthy, thinke with yourself ‘What shall I render to the Lord for all his benyfits towards me, what further service hath the Lord to use me in, whoe hath done soe great things for me and by me.’ Yea you are studdying (thrice noble Sir) which way to lift up the name of Jesus Christ there where it hath beene most vilely trampled upon, and where you are called to cheife place of rule, there to take effectual care that Jesus Christ alone may reigne, and that desolate Ireland which hath bene drenched and steeped in blood, may be moystened and soaked with the waters of the Sanctuary, for which end your Honour is pleased to cast your eyes, as upon godly people and ministers in England, soe upon such like in America also, whose hearts the Lord may moove to soe blessed a worke, We therefore whose names are underwritten doe, in behalfe of ourselves and some others here in New England humbly returne to your Honour many thanks for your noble offers respecting us also, and since your Honour hath so large a heart given you of the Lord as to desire to build him a Temple amidst the ruinous heaps in Ireland, and so royal a spirit as to be ready soe nobly to befreind the freinds (even in America also) of any such workes, soe farr as to improve your uttermost interest for their furtheraunce in removing thither, and for their safe and comfortable habitation there, together with like care had of their injoying the

Lord in his ordinances there, we know not but we may attend this providence of the Lord soe far also as to observe what further of the minde and counsel of God may appeare to us in your seasonable prosecution of your noble proposals, hoping that as we came by a call of God to serve him here, soe if the Lords mind shall cleerly appeare to give us a sufficyent call and incouragement to remove into Ireland, to serve the Lord Jesus there, wee shall cheerfully and thankfully imbrace the same. Thus commending your Honours weighty occasions to the Lords guidance and blessing, we humbly take our leaves, resting

Your Honours to serve you in the Lord

PEETER BULKLEY, *min.*

SAM. WHITING, *min.*

JOHN KNOWLES, *min.*

THO. COBET, *min.*

DANYEL DENYSON.

JOHN TUTTELL.

New England,
31. 10 Month 1650.

[“The Conditions which these Ministers and godly persons proposed, previous to setting out for Ireland, are entered upon another Paper. They were as follow” : —]

“That in mater of Religion we may have like liberty established by favor of the State of England, for the exercise of the worship and government of Christ as here we enjoy in New England.

“That such a proportion of outward encouragements in houses and lands as the State shall thinke fit in favour to bestow upon suche as principally and personally engage in this worke may be set forth by the Parliament or Counsel of State, and after divisions to be made by us with some appointed by the Parliament to our Assocyates.

“That some quantity of land may be granted for the advancing of learning, by a Free-Scoole and College.

“That we may have free choyce of the cheife millitary governour to be over the Garrison where we shall sit downe, and such a one as may be of our owne company, if we have any fit person amongst us, or if not, that we

may have liberty to nominate some other godly man which the state of England may approve of.

“That in regard we come from a pure Ayre, we may have a place in the more healthfull part of the country.

“That in regard of the meanness and inabillity of sundry godly persons (which doe or may desire to joyne with us) to transport themselves and famelies, the State would be pleased to think of some way of lending them some helpe.

“That we and our company may for some yeares be freed from publique charges.

“That noe Irish may inhabite amongst us, but such as we shall like of.

“That we and our company may have convenyent tyme allowed us for our transportation into Ireland.

“Lastly intimate our sufferings under the tyranny of Episcopacy, which forced us into exile (to our great hazard and losse) for noe other offence but professing that truth which (through mercy) is now acknowledged.”

LETTER FROM WILLIAM BRADFORD TO
JOHN WINTHROP.

[The following letter was copied from the original in my possession,
written in Governor Bradford's clear and beautiful hand. C. D.]

S^r. I am requested to write these few lines vnto you, in the behalfe of some Indeans of Yarmoth; who complaine that Mr. Offley owes them 6 coats of trading cloath, and a pair of small briches, for seruise they did him, in taking of sturgion. Some of them affirme that they were loath to haue leaft their hunting, when he Importuned them to help him, and now not to pay them for their laboure they take it very ill; and take occation therby to scandalice all y^e English. I am Informed by Mr. Freeman that many of y^e neighbours know these debts to be due, and are yet vnsatisfied. To which this bearer can also say sumethng. Haueing not els at presente with my best loue remembred vnto you, I take leaue & rest

Your affectionate freind

WILLIAM BRADFORD

Plim. 11 (10) 45.

[Superscribed, "To his much honoured freind Mr. John Winthrop
Deputie Gou^r. of y^e Massachussets these be dd."]

LETTER FROM EMANUEL DOWNING TO JAMES USHER.

[In the Life of the learned James Usher, Archbishop of Armagh, by Richard Parr, his chaplain, folio, London, 1686, p. 16, is a very striking letter, addressed to Usher at London, the same year that he was made Bishop of Meath, from Emanuel Downing. By the biographer he is called "a worthy divine," and to me it seems highly probable, that he was father of that Emanuel, the lawyer, of London, who married a sister of our Governor Winthrop, and brought her and his family to Salem. That Usher was highly esteemed by the Puritans is clear enough from his being invited to a seat in their famous Assembly of Divines, called by the Long Parliament; and though he could not comply with that request, he was by Cromwell held in veneration to his death.

On account of the rarity of this work, which is not frequently seen in England, and might not easily be found in this country, I have procured from Rev. Joseph Hunter a transcript as here given. Σ.]

REVEREND SIR,

I hope you are not ignorant of the hurt, that has come to the Church by this name, Puritan, and how his Majesties good intent and meaning therein is much abused and wronged; and especially in this poor country where the Pope, and Popery, is so much affected. I being lately in the Country had conference with a worthy, painful preacher, who hath been an instrument of drawing many of the meer Irish there from the blindness of Popery to embrace the Gospel, with much comfort to themselves and heart breaking to the Priests, who perceiving they cannot now prevail with their jugling tricks, have forged a new device. They have now stirred up some crafty Papists, who very boldly rail both at Ministers and people, saying they seeke to sow this damnable heresy of Puritanism among them, which word, tho' not understood,

but only known to be most odious to his Majesty, makes many afraid of joining themselves to the Gospel, though in conference their consciences are convicted herein; so to prevent a greater mischief that may follow, it were good to petition his Majesty to define a Puritan, whereby the mouths of these scoffing enemies would be stopt. And if his Majesty be not at leisure, that he would appoint some good men to do it for him; for the effecting thereof you know better than I can direct, and therefore I commit you and your affairs to the blessing of the Almighty, praying for your good success there, and safe return hither, resting

Your assured friend to his power

EMANUEL DOWNING

Dublin 24 Oct. 1620.

SUPPOSED LETTER FROM REV. COTTON
MATHER, D. D.

HONOURABLE S^r

As soon as your hon^r has considered y^e Contents hereof, I request you (for several reasons) to burn it. I being lately in y^e Company of Dr. Mather, was made sensible of some things, wch. I tho't I might do well to lay before your hon^r and the rather because I understand he is a person, that you have some value for. I am not without fears that y^e heavy & many troubles, that oppress him, may have such an Effect upon, that wee shall quickly loose him except redressed speedily, and indeed had it not been for some singular attainments wch. I suppose he is master of, he could never have born up so well as he has. Your Honour I believe is not acquainted wth. his troubles. but I find that wch. most overwhelms him is, y^e wretched Administr[']con as he calls it in wch. he has been ensnared, by his Love to some whom he finds full of Ingratitude. Your hon^r can deliver him if you please, and if Incapacity to Admin^r be a just cause for a Judge to lay aside an Administrator, you have it already before you, or if you think you have not, you will (it may be) have it either in the Death, or in some thing worse than that soon coming on that distressed tho' worthy Gentleman. I am inform'd by those who have it from Mr. Boydell, that the accounts of y^e Administracon given in are beyond expectation fair & clear and to your hon^{rs} satisfaction.

Every one that I speak wth are of Opinion that y^e managers deserve to have more allow'd them than all that Whittamore has applyed for his owne support in the business, for y^e Incredible fatigue wch. they have undergone.

But if so much be not allowed then y^e Doctor must pay it out of his pockett, wch. I percieve he is ready to do, rather then the orphans should be defrauded of a penny. But until your hon^r shall release him, his condition as he sayes, and I partly know it, is intolerable; every one y^t knocks at his door surprizes him, that his heart dies wthin him as he sayes, fearing there is an Arrest to be serv'd on him, or some body to dun him for a Debt, due from an Estate, which he nor his can be a farther the better for. Old Mrs. Fyfield keeps worrying about y^e ruins that her Estate must suffer because of her husbands suretyship.

Your honour gave the old doctor some hope that you would deliver his son out of his Extream distresses. He sayes you told him, it was in your power, and then he adds I hope the good Judge will think 'tis his duty.

The brave and good old Doctor, who is longing for Heaven does also vehemently long for your hon^r to deliver his son. But this morning, I find the distressed Gentleman viz^t y^e young doct^r almost sunk into a total despair of any deliverance, he sayes the affair Labours as if it were enchanted, they have been two years doing what might have been done in less than two months. the Doctor speaks of your hon^{rs} judgem^t and goodness wth. y^e greatest respect, but he seems to be apprehensive of a strong plott laid to ruin him, by them for whom he alwayes had y^e bowels of a Tender father. He is commonly Informed that your Nephew stirs up people to arrest him, and has given y^e Doctor reason to think, that he has consulted wth an able Lawyer, to molest him for male administracon. he is told, that Mr. Faneuils arrest was contrived on purpose to prevent your hon^r from delivering of him, w^{ch} arrest tho now dropt, (by y^e good perswasion of my great & good friend) will be speedily renewed for that purpose. His Tirrible wife (whose character Mr. Jon. Sewell has given (as y^e Doctor understands) to others, and can give to your honour if he pleases) will have a great Estate whether there be one or no. the women talk like mad people about it. the story of a sham Inventory Mr. Boydell can tell your hon^r.

The Estate has already fared much the worse, as I am inform'd because your Nephew refused to act as an attor-

ney in y^e administracon, & will do so more & more. It seems his wife wont let him act, & the doctor thinks its from an ill intention to plague the doctor.

Considering some strange things that your Nephew knows relating to his predecessor, the doctor has often wondered at his barbarous carriage towards him (whereof I belive the Doctor can give your hon^r a strange Instance) and that he is not afraid of Dreadful consequences. the Doctor thinks your nephew studdies all y^e Litigious arts he can to defeat your honours just & good purposes to deliver y^e poor afflicted servant of God, and the Doct^r expects he'll be successful in them, wch. causes the doctor to be so dejected that it would move your hon^{rs} compassion to a great Degree were you to see him. The Doctor I percieve esteems y^r hon^{rs} conversation above any in the Land, & would have waited on you often, but his dejection ab^t this wretched administracon so dispirits him that he is fit for to speak with none, to talk of nothing. His burthen certainly is almost insupportable, for he would fain have preach'd a Lecture sermon, to stir up devout persons to pray for y^e conversion of y^e Jews, on y^e next week, but he sayes this wretched administracon undoes him, he cannot fix his tho'ts & must let it alone.

Good S^r make haste with your helping hand to this distressed afflicted minister of Christ & save him from y^e Plotts of those whom you may see would ruin him. I beseech you S^r let not your nephew, or by him, his wife be to hard for you

I am your hon^{rs} most humble
& obedient serv^t &c.

[Recd. Ap. 13. 1720 To
past 9 at night.] The Hon^e Judge
 Sewall
 These.

On this anonymous epistle the Judge made, in the corner, near the end, the significant memorandum here inclosed in brackets [] ; but on the outside, as the paper is folded in the common form of filing letters, is noted only, " Recd Apr 13th 1720 in behalf of Dr. Cotton Mather."

Presuming that some explanation of this curious letter might be derived from the Journal of Chief Justice Sewall, one of whose family in a

collateral branch had given the original to a former member of our Historical Society, who presented it to the Society, I sent on the 19th of March an exact copy, with request for such aid, to Rev. Samuel Sewall, of Burlington, a descendant of the Judge. His reply follows : —

Burlington, March 22, 1844.

DEAR SIR : Your kind letter of the 19th instant, containing a copy of the strange letter lately presented to the Historical Society, was received yesterday. For that copy I give you many thanks. This morning I applied myself to the work of tracing out the letter itself, aided by the copy you sent me, and succeeded beyond my expectations. The following extracts from the Judge's Journal, Letter-Book, and Probate Minutes (a small quarto volume, containing a brief account of his Probate business, copies of wills, as Grove Hirst's, his son-in-law, Governor Dudley's, &c., &c.) throw much light on this mysterious letter, although they do not reveal precisely the cause of Dr. Mather's uneasiness, &c., &c. I have arranged them in chronological order ; but the first I stumbled upon was that numbered 6.

1. "1716 May 2. Mr. Nathan Howell dies at Oldham's near Oliver's Spring." — *Journal*.

2. " * Nota. Dr. Cotton Mather had Letters of Administration Granted him on the Goods, Rights & Credits of Nathan Howell late of Boston Merch^t deceased. June 4, 1716." — *Prob. Min., margin*.

3. "1716 Dec^r. 22 Gave Cousin Sewall Mr. Henry on y^e L. Supper, for his Spouse, Mrs. Katharine Howell," &c., &c.

4. "1716-17 Jan^r. 15. 3 — Visited Cous. S. Sewall, and his new married wife." — *Journal*.

5. "1717 Dec^r. 5 Mr. John Winthrop, Mr. Sam^l Sewall and Katharine his wife, dine with us, and Jonathan Sewall. Mr. Winthrop sent home Mrs. Sewall in his coach." — *Journal*.

6. "To Dr. Cotton Mather, March 1. 1719-20

"SIR, — Your Obliging Letter of the 22^d of Decr. last, I recd. the next Day ; but one remora after another hindred my answering till now. I am truly sensible that I am the greatest Loser by any Interruption there has been of our most agreeable conversation ; and therefore earnestly desire that the Causes of that Interruption may be removed.

"And the proper Way to obtain freedom from this perplexing Administration (wherein I sympathise with you) is to bring in an Account of what has been receiv'd and paid to A. B. C. D. the express Sums with the Vouchers ; as also what the Managers of the affair propose to have allowd them for their Reward : which I see not yet done. To this end I have desired Mr. Boydell to assist in drawing up the Administration Account in form ; which he is ready to doe. I very much desire that this may be done with all convenient Expedition, for your sake, and for the Orphans, and my own. Nine Months of the fourth Year are now spent since the Letters of Administration were taken out.

"A Visitation of Mr. Williams's School," &c., &c.

"I am, Sir, your humble Serv^t S. S."

7. "1720. 8^r 12. Give Mr. Whittemore & Willard y^r Oath to Dr. Mather's Inventory." — *Journal*.

8. "1720. 8^r 17 Monday. Give Mr. Dan^l Willard, and Mr. Pelatiah

Whittemore y^r Oaths to y^e Accts. and Mr. John Briggs to his, as they are Attorneys to Dr. Cotton Mather Administrator to y^e Estate of Nathan Howell deceased." — *Journal*.

9. "1727-8 January 8. George & Nathan Howell ab^t 15 & 14 y^{rs} old, went a skating at the bottom of y^e Common, & were both drown'd. O Ld. sanctify thine awfull Prov^{dce} to the *near Relations*; Support & Comfort y^m. Be to y^{ne} Handmaid better yⁿ 10 Sons. To y^e Town," &c., &c. — *Rev. Dr. Sewall's Journal*.

From the above extracts it appears, that, shortly after Mr. Howell's death, Dr. Mather undertook to administer on his estate; and Samuel, son of Major Stephen Sewall of Salem, and brother of Jonathan and of Chief Justice *Stephen*, married his widow. The two boys referred to, Extract 9, were doubtless children of this Mr. Howell, and the "orphans," or at least two of them, named in the anonymous letter, and in the Judge's to Dr. Mather. The "Nephew," so frequently named in the anonymous letter, as contriving the Doctor's ruin, was not *Jonathan Sewall*, as I supposed till I came across Extract 5, but his brother Samuel. And the nephew's "predecessor" was doubtless Mr. Howell, the first husband of his "Tirrible wife." Concerning the trait in the character of this "Tirrible wife," what in particular it was, I am unable to say. But concerning her second husband and his brother, the two nephews of the Judge referred to in the letter, Samuel and Jonathan Sewall, the Judge writes in a letter, dated Oct. 29, 1717, to a cousin and correspondent in England, as follows: "I suppose you are not unacquainted with Mr. Samuel Sewall, Son of Maj^r Sewall of Salem. He is an accomplish'd Merch^t and dwells in town. If you might transfer the buisness wherein you employ'd Mr. Hirst upon him, I hope it would be for your Profit, and you would therein very much gratify me. His brother Jonathan Sewall liv'd with Mr. Hirst several years, who was pleased with his skillfull & faithfull Services, and has often in my hearing given him a very good character. Jonathan now dwells with his brother, and joins with him in his Ship Chandlers Business." In the same letter the Judge communicates to this cousin (Mr. Samuel Storke of London) the death of Mr. Hirst. In another letter written the next day, Oct. 30, 1717, to a brother of the above Mr. Storke, and probably a partner in business, the Judge writes as follows: "I am thankfull to you & others that may be concerned for y^e profitable buisnesse you Employed Mr. Hirst in, & now if you should see meet to transfer your Buisnesse to my Cousin Mr. Samuel Sewall Eldest son of my Brother Maj^r Sewall of Salem, It would very much gratify me: he has a good Storehouse just by Mr. Hirsts & I hope would transact for you wth Integrity ability & application. His brother Jona. Sewall dwells with him, who formerly lived several years with Mr. Hirst, who gave him a very good character, & he understands & is well acquainted wth Mr. Hirst's affairs." — *Letter-Book*.

The above nephew of the Judge's, Samuel, *may have been* unfortunate in his wife, but I can hardly think that either he or his brother would be guilty of entering into any plot to *ruin* or "*to plague*" Dr. Mather. The probability seems to me to be, that the business of the administration had been very negligently or unskilfully managed by Dr. Mather or his agents, or both; and that now, after it had been conducted above

three years in this manner without being brought to any close (when it might have been "in two months" according to the doctor's own confession), the father-in-law of the orphans had begun to use some threatening, and perhaps other legal measures, to oblige the administrator and his attorneys to fulfil their trust. And the letter of the Judge to Dr. Mather seems by the event to have contributed to this end. How it should have ever been necessary for him to remind the Doctor of the necessity of rendering into the Probate Office a regular particular account of his receipts and expenses in this administration, before he could obtain a discharge, it is difficult to conceive.

The above Samuel Sewall, *nephew* of the Judge, is, I have no doubt, the "Major Sewall" to whom Rev. Mr. Upham refers in his Lectures upon Witchcraft, as introducing into the General Court, nearly fifty years after the witchcraft, a resolution "for the appointment of a Committee to make an inquiry into the condition and circumstances of individuals and families, that might have suffered from the 'calamity of 1692' as it was called." (Page 122.) Mr. Upham mentions him as "a son of the Judge." But the Judge's son Samuel never had the title of "Major," by which, I believe, this son of Major Stephen of Salem was known. His brother Jonathan's first wife was Elizabeth Alford (of Charlestown, I presume), by whom he had two daughters. After her death, Sept. 11, 1723, he married Mary Payne, a sister of Edward Payne of Boston, by whom he had two other daughters, and Jonathan, the celebrated Attorney-General. This Jonathan died November, 1731, leaving a widow and the above children. His mother also, the daughter of "matchless Mitchel," was then yet living, and I presume in Boston, perhaps with Jonathan.

If I can lend any further aid, dear Sir, in explaining the document in question, I will cheerfully do it. The above is all that is now in my power.

Yours, very respectfully,

SAMUEL SEWALL.

Perhaps every reader would be satisfied with these illustrations, equally ample and judicious, of the descendant of the first Chief Justice Sewall. Some additional light on the relation of Cotton Mather to the wretched administration is derived from our records of marriages.

Nathan Howell and Katherine George were married by Mr. Benjamin Colman, 7 Oct., 1708.

The Rev. Dr. Cotton Mather and Madam Lydia George were married by the Rev. Dr. Increase Mather, 5 July, 1715.

Samuel Sewall and Katherine Howell were married by the Rev. Dr. Cotton Mather, 1 January, 1716, i. e. in our computation 1717.

Notice of the death of Howell is contained in the *Boston Newsletter* of the 7th of May, No. 629, and the birth of his sons is recorded in our town books, George, son of Nathan Howell and Katherine his wife, 1 November, 1712, Nathan, 21 March, 1713-4.

The most curious evidence, however, is furnished by the records of our Probate Court, of which Boydell, mentioned both in the letter of Judge Sewall and that, supposed, of Mather, was Register. Grant of Administration on Estate of Nathan Howell is found in Vol. XIX. p. 119, at

the desire of Katherine, widow of the intestate, in favor of Cotton Mather, D. D., calling the deceased *his son-in-law*. So that it is evident that Mather had the preceding year married the mother of this lady, whom he describes as the *terrible* wife of the Judge's nephew, Stephen; and that his own wife's daughter had solicited this neighborly and Christian trust of her departed husband's property to be granted to him. By the appointment, he was required to return inventory at or before the 4th of September, 1716, and plain and true account of administration at or before the 4th of June, 1717; and from his own letter it may be inferred, that one of his sureties had great apprehension of ruin from his neglect. Stranger still is the fact, that no inventory is recorded, nor any account of the administration, although in his *private* memoranda the Judge has noted his giving the oath on the 12th of October, 1720, for the former, and only five days later for the accounts. May we infer, that both were surreptitiously withdrawn from the hands of the Register?

Greater promptitude was found in the action on the estate of Mather after *his* decease, on the 13th of February, 1728. By Vol. XXVI. p. 187, it appears that administration was granted on the 22d of July, 1728, to Nathaniel Goodwin; and p. 189 contains the inventory, taken the next day after, and sworn to on the 5th of August of the same year. This document is observable for two things: the silver plate exceeds in value all the other personal property, and not a single book is mentioned among the assets of this eccentric scholar.

It may, at last, be demanded, why this remarkable letter, which affords such insight into the character of Cotton Mather, is attributed to himself?

Perhaps any critic, conversant with the epistolary productions of the author of *Magnalia Christi Americana*, would decide by the style of this composition; but a general reader would infer from the disclosure of character and incidents, that nobody else was authorized to speak as this letter does of him, his intentions (as, for instance, about the Lecture for conversion of the Jews), and, above all, his private sufferings from the accident of being amenable to the jurisdiction of the Probate Court. Something like a parallel to the obliquity of the opening sentence in this document is found in a remarkable epistle to Governor Shute, of the 31st of October, 1718, preserved in the Appendix to Quincy's History of Harvard University, Vol. I. p. 524, where is shown a cunning less profound than disreputable: "Your Excellency's incomparable goodness and wisdom will easily discern and approve the intention of the freedom used in this letter, and have it and its writer covered under the darkest concealment." The injunction of the writer as to his immunity of darkness seems to have been equally disregarded, probably scorned, by the Judge and the Governor.

Yet more direct proof of the origin of this letter is deducible from minute, than general, inquiry. It would not, likely, have been produced by a scribe under dictation; and *four* several petty occurrences in this *original* manuscript delivered to Judge Sewall prove it to be a copy from a draft lying before the transcriber, and that the author read his letter to the amanuensis, instead of taking this paper to see if it exactly conformed.

I. In the third sentence, *him* is omitted, without doubt, in the clause, "such an effect upon."

II. Near the end of second paragraph, "can be a *farther* the better for," may be judged a blunder for *farthing*.

III. The malediction of Major Stephen Sewall's wife, under the epithet of "*Tirrible*," was, by the meek author's autograph, unquestionably given *terrible*. Some other words may appear spelt in an older style than then prevailed.

IV. In the concluding sentence "*to hard*" is manifestly curtailed of an *o*.

Still a higher confidence may be felt from inspection of this curious paper, which, though of so great length, contains not a single erasure or interlineation, clearly showing, in my opinion, that it must be a transcript, not a first draft. In his manuscript Cotton Mather made many corrections, both of erasure and insertion, almost universally.

How much the occurrence in this document explained affects the reputation of Cotton Mather, may be unnecessary to determine. It surely goes far to elucidate the ill repute in which he was held in his latter days, that was so prevalent as to cause him to lament that old admirers would not recognize him as he passed through the streets. Many of the deceased members of our Society, and a few survivors, have received traditional stories of an unfavorable bearing, of which the whole foundation may have been only the transaction above detailed, or similar ones. The high reverence in which he *had been held* may naturally have conduced to a greater depreciation of his character than justice would authorize. Pity is due to his hypochondriac lamentation of ingratitude, under which the father also suffered, but with too proper a self-esteem to under perpetual complaint. The great misery of Cotton Mather was his vanity; and this gangrene, first applying to his literary, then to his social, may ultimately have tainted his moral reputation, in the judgment of his fellow-citizens.

The copy is most carefully made from the original, with every variety of spelling, and every abbreviation.

JAMES SAVAGE.

Boston, July, 1844.

MEMOIR OF REV. THADDEUS MASON HARRIS, D. D.

By NATHANIEL L. FROTHINGHAM, D. D.

A MEMOIR of this learned and amiable divine belongs of peculiar right to the Massachusetts Historical Society, of which he was for a time the Librarian, and had been a diligent member, at the period of his death, for just half a century. Such a Memoir was expected from the hand of one of his earliest associates. But as the Society has been disappointed in this, the writer of the present notice succeeds to the task, and feels that in obeying an injunction he is at the same time performing a labor of love. The task is made an easy one by his being permitted to make use of a manuscript Account of Dr. Harris's Life and Writings by the late venerable Dr. John Pierce, whose accuracy can always be relied on, and whose very words he may cite at pleasure with perfect propriety.

Thaddeus Mason Harris was born in Charlestown, July 7, 1768. He was the son of William Harris. His mother was Rebekah, daughter of Hon. Thaddeus Mason of Charlestown, afterwards of Cambridge, — a gentleman of excellent quality, who filled, in the course of a long and useful life, many offices of honor and trust in the Commonwealth and in the County of Middlesex, and among the rest that of Clerk of the Courts of Session and of Common Pleas, which he held during fifty-four years.* This

* Thaddeus Mason was a graduate of Harvard College, in the class of 1728. After the destruction of Charlestown, he resided at Cambridge, where he died in 1802, in the ninety-sixth year of his age.

was being well-born. His mother was a woman of great worth, of a highly intellectual and religious character. His father, a man of talent and education, left his native town of Boston, when about twenty years old, to take charge of the public writing-school in Charlestown, at the invitation of the inhabitants of that place; sustained his charge "with the highest reputation,"* till the battle of Lexington alarmed him for the safety of his family; then repaired to Chockset, the west precinct of Lancaster, since called Sterling, where he became captain and paymaster in a regiment raised for the service of the country; and there dying, October 30, 1778, at the early age of thirty-four years and three months, was buried with military and religious honors, leaving behind him the memory of a just, kind, and good man. Of these parents Thaddeus was the first-born child. His constitution was delicate, and his health exceedingly precarious in infancy and early childhood; so that great fears were entertained for his life. And this is all that we hear about him till the first great trouble that crossed his young life,—one that convulsed the whole country, and shook the shores of Old England and the European continent. Just before the battle of Bunker Hill, when he was not quite seven years old, his father and mother were driven by their apprehensions from the home-spot that was so soon to be a scene of blood and fire, and took their departure, without any distinct purpose or thought whither or how they should be led. It was a hasty flight. "With a few necessary articles of clothing, such as they could easily carry, they set out,—Thaddeus with his twin-sisters next in age to himself, the father and mother each carrying a child in the arms, an aged grandmother being also with them. On arriving at Lexington, they spent a night at Munroe's tavern, kept by a widow woman to whom they were distantly related. While they were there, an empty wagon was about leaving the public house; and in this they bespoke a passage, to go wherever the owner was bound. It took them to Chockset, a part of Sterling." He soon went back to his forsaken dwelling for the sake of bring-

* Joshua Henshaw, in the *Independent Chronicle*, Nov. 19, 1778.

ing away a few articles of value which had been left behind. He was but just in season, for now came the great fight. By the burning of Charlestown and the scattering of its inhabitants, he lost not only his school, but a new and commodious house, which he had built and furnished with the savings of eleven years. His father-in-law, Mr. Mason, lost a large and elegant mansion, together with a great deal of valuable property, by the same conflagration. Thus he was suddenly reduced from a state of competence to poverty. He obtained temporary employment as a teacher in some of the country towns; but the unsettled state of public affairs rendered this uncertain and unprofitable; and he was at length induced to join the army, as has been said. But he was soon swept off by a violent fever, while on a visit to his family, which he was compelled to leave in most trying and indigent circumstances.

After his father's death, "Thaddeus went to live with Mr. Houghton, a farmer. He afterwards went to Deacon Kilbourne's at Westminster, where he became acquainted with Rev. Asaph Rice. His next remove was to Mr. Kendall's at Templeton, where he experienced the kind offices of Rev. Ebenezer Sparhawk. In the latter part of 1779 he returned to Chockset, and was soon introduced into the family of Dr. Ebenezer Morse of Boylston, who had been obliged to leave the ministry on suspicion of Toryism, and was supporting his family by the practice of medicine and the fitting of boys for college. This good man took the unprotected orphan into his study, and prepared him for college at the same time with his own son. While here, young Harris did something towards his own support by stripping ash or walnut clefts for the manufacture of brooms; and by making axe-handles, whip-lashes, button-moulds, and cat-gut for bass-voils and violins. At length he procured wild honey, with the profits of which he clothed himself for college." In July, 1782, he went to visit his mother, who, after suffering much distress from grief and poverty in her widowed state, had entered into a second marriage somewhat more than two years before, with Mr. Samuel Wait of Malden, who opened for

her and her children a comfortable home.* He informed her of what had taken place; and that he had completed his preparatory studies under the charge of Dr. Morse, who advised him to present himself for admission into Harvard College, trusting to the beneficiary provisions there made for needy students. This plan, however, did not meet with her approbation. She opposed strongly such aspiring views, and persuaded him to become an apprentice to the trade of saddle-tree making. This project was broken off by a fortunate misfortune. He injured one of his wrists in performing some piece of labor, and was thus obliged to give up the place that had been provided for him. He now went to write in his grandfather Mason's office, being always remarkably expert with his pen; and his thought was to become a merchant. In order to obtain means for engaging in this pursuit, he agreed with his grandfather to defray the cost of his board by writing, and repaired to the school in Cambridge kept by Mr. Kendall. This gentleman, afterwards Dr. Kendall of Weston, finding the youth an apt scholar, earnestly recommended a collegiate education for him. So warm an interest did he take in this, that he induced Rev. Drs. Stillman and Thacher of Boston to issue subscription-papers on behalf of the young man, which procured for him funds to meet his college expenses. He was admitted to that institution in July, 1783. Such favor did he find, through the docility of his manner and his evident literary tastes and ambition, that in the outset of his Freshman year he was invited to live, free of all charge, in the family of Professor Williams, whose son was his classmate. During the two following years, a waitership in the Commons Hall entitled him to free board. He was thus taken care for as to what he should eat. But how he should be clothed was another matter. In the month of March, 1786, while he was in the Junior

* This exemplary woman died, February 2, 1801, a little more than sixty-two years old. Her son, in an appendix to a sermon on her death, says of her: "To have consecrated her heart to God, to have formed her religious principles, and commenced her pious habits so seasonably,"—so early as her fifteenth year,—"was a source of pure and increasing satisfaction to her through life, of support and comfort in the various trials and afflictions with which her faith and patience were exercised, and of hope and triumph in her death."

year; his mother came to his room to ascertain the state of his wardrobe. She found it scanty and poor enough; indeed, so very destitute, that she proposed to him to take up immediately whatever money was due to him from his grandfather for his services as scribe, and invest it in proper articles of dress. Arrangements were made accordingly. He was to apply for his earnings, meet his mother on a certain day at Charlestown, and go with her to Boston, where she would help him lay out his money to the best advantage. But as an evil angel would have it, or rather an improvident spirit of his own, he neglected to call for his little fund till the morning of the very day that had been appointed for the expedition. He was too late. The good old man had left Cambridge, and was nowhere to be found. In vain did he try to borrow what he needed. Every help for the exigency was as far off as his grandfather. With an anxious and bitter heart he set out on a weary trudge and a bootless errand, to a conference that he was ashamed to meet. If we may take his own word for it, he gave way to many moody and not very religious reflections on his hard lot. As he pursued his disconsolate way he whittled for himself a walking-stick, after the New England manner, and indulged in complaining thoughts of the Divine Providence, after the usual manner of man's peevish spirit. His personal troubles, however, were not allowed to make him insensible to those of others; and his needy circumstances, pinched as they were, were yet made to contribute something to the necessity that was greater than his own. He gave the few coppers that he had about him to a poor crippled soldier, who solicited his charity by the road-side, and who appeared to be faint and famishing. As he was crossing Charlestown Neck, where it had been raked but a few years before by the British shot, and while he was thinking less about that than about the battle that was going on in his own mind, he perceived that something had fastened itself to the end of his stick, and with all his brandishing he could not shake it off. On examining it, he found that it was a metallic substance, of what kind he knew not. Without giving much heed to it, and supposing that it might be some outcast bawble from a

negro hut that stood near by, he dropped it into his pocket, where there was nothing that it could disgrace by its company. As he was leaning over the side of the ferry-boat, which had at that period to perform the office of a bridge, the new tenant of his pocket hurt his side. He took it out to be rid of it, and discovered that the friction it had undergone had given it quite a bright look. This encouraged him, on his arrival in Boston, to carry it to a jeweller's shop. The goldsmith, on cutting it open, pronounced it to be of pure gold, and pointed out to him a motto graven upon it, "God speed thee, friend." He then offered him two dollars as the value of the ring. This affected the young man to tears. He felt as if Providence was thus rebuking him for his despondency and complaint, and was providing for him in spite of his rebellious dispositions. The goldsmith, in return, struck with the sensibility that he saw displayed, added another dollar to the sum. Harris now hastened to find his mother, who it seems had failed to keep her appointment with him, to communicate to her the unexpected good fortune, and more than mere fortune, that had befallen him. She went at once with him to the shop, that she might see the curious little treasure with her own eyes; and the tears sprang into them as she saw and read. The goldsmith's sympathies were again awakened, and he doubled the amount of what he had already given. Six dollars may seem to be a stinted allowance for the refitting of a young student's stock of apparel. But it was "amply sufficient" for the present necessity.

This simple occurrence produced a very deep and permanent impression on his mind. On the 3d of the following month of May he became a communicant member of the church in Cambridge, then under the pastoral care of Rev. Timothy Hilliard, who preached a special sermon on the occasion, from Psalm cxix. 9: "Wherewithal shall a young man cleanse his way? By taking heed thereto according to thy word."

He was graduated at Harvard College in July, 1787, at the age of nineteen. In the class of that year were President John Quincy Adams, Judge Putnam, Judge Cranch, Hon. James Lloyd, and other gentlemen, among whom he

sustained a respectable rank as a scholar. The part assigned to him on taking his degree was a poem. Its subject was History; and it was received by the audience with such extraordinary commendation, that the Rev. Drs. Belknap and Thacher unitedly solicited a copy of it for publication in the *Columbian Magazine*, printed at Philadelphia; "fully persuaded that it would tend to increase the reputation of our College at the Southward." This flattering request, however, he modestly but resolutely persisted in declining. After completing his collegiate course, he became the teacher of a school in Worcester. In this service he remained for a year; and here he formed the acquaintance of Miss Mary, the only daughter of Dr. Elijah and Mrs. Dorothy Dix, who was to be the partner of his whole life. Immediately on leaving this pleasant town, he was honored by an application to become private secretary to General Washington. His heart leaped at such a proposal, which promised to bring him into connection with the greatest man of his nation and time, and with the leading events of a wonderful era in the fortunes of his country and the destinies of the earth. His patriotism and his skill with the pen, his love of history and of poetry both, conspired to recommend such a preferment, and promised to open a career for his highest aspirations. Now the course of his life seemed to be beaten out for him in high places, and the motto of his ring was translating itself into distinct prophecy. But no sooner had he signified his acceptance of the appointment than he was struck down with that terrible malady, the small-pox, which at that time had been relieved of only the smaller half of its original terrors. Public affairs cannot wait for the slow recoveries of sickness and for private convenience; and before he was able to arrive at his post the place was filled by Tobias Lear, a gentleman who left the University the same year that young Harris entered it, and who afterwards went through a long course of diplomatic service as Consul-General at St. Domingo and at Tripoli.

Thrown back from this prospect of promotion, he now betook himself to the study of divinity, under the guidance of the Rev. Samuel Kendall of Weston; but at the in-

stance of Dr. Willard, President of the College, he returned to Cambridge, and took a room there as a resident graduate, to complete his theological course. He was "approved to preach" by the Cambridge Association, in June, 1789, a little before he was twenty-one years of age. The very next month he made his first appearance as a preacher, in the pulpit of Rev. Joseph Jackson of Brookline. After the usual term of three years from taking his first degree of A. B., he received his degree of A. M., and at the Commencement, July, 1790, he pronounced the Valedictory Oration in Latin. On the following day he delivered an oration before the *Φ. B. K.* Society, on "Learned Associations." His habits were academic. His chief fondness was for books and learning. This led to his becoming the Librarian of the College, on the resignation of the Rev. Isaac Smith, with whom he had already been associated in that important literary charge. This was in 1791. In August of the succeeding year he was elected a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and was as abundantly qualified to be useful to it as his diligent fidelity succeeded in making him. Meanwhile he was employed in preaching among the surrounding parishes, wherever his services were sought. On the 23d of October, 1793, he was ordained as the pastor of the church in Dorchester; successor to Rev. Moses Everett, who had resigned the charge about nine months before. His pastorate was permitted to be long-continued, and from the beginning to the end it was a most devoted one. Dr. Pierce bears the following testimony to him in the manuscript account which has been referred to:—

"As a pastor, he was diligent, affectionate, conscientious, greatly beloved. For more than ten years he had the ministerial charge of the whole town, which then comprehended also the whole of what is now called South Boston. He was truly 'in labors more abundant'; writing more sermons than almost any of his brethren; publishing more discourses and other works than almost any contemporary divine; visiting the sick; attending funerals; and frequently repairing to the University, of which during his whole ministry he was an overseer, arranging its library, and making an elaborate report of the con-

dition of the same, almost every year. As a preacher, he was earnest and full of tender feeling. He took a peculiar interest in the rising generation, often preaching discourses especially for their benefit, always meeting them with great cordiality, having 'a word in season' to secure their affections. At the communion-table and at the baptismal font he was peculiarly interesting. In visits to the sick and the bereaved he was a genuine 'son of consolation'; so that he could truly say: 'Who is weak, and I am not weak? Who is offended, and I burn not?' Besides the appropriate duties of his profession, he labored much for the public, being an active member of several literary and benevolent societies, to which he rendered many invaluable services. He devoted much of his leisure to the superintendence of the public schools. Of the Academy at Milton he was a faithful trustee." As if to connect himself posthumously with the great President whose secretary he came so near being, "he sorted and arranged the 132 volumes of the Writings of Washington, furnished them with copious indexes and notes, and thus prepared them for publication," at the request of their distinguished editor, Mr. Sparks. "The secret of his accomplishing so much was his untiring industry, and such methodical arrangement of his day that he had few waste hours. He was an early riser, and had a time for everything, and did everything in its time. His punctuality to engagements was a rare trait in his character. No instance can be recollected in which he was at the appointed place of meeting one moment too late."

Such is the tribute paid to his professional character and habits by an associate, whose thread of life ran nearly even with his own for many years.

Fifteen months after taking the vows of a clergyman, he assumed those of a husband, being united to the lady who has already been named. She was truly a lady. Nature had endowed her with a commanding person, unusual intelligence, and great force of character. Her manners were so stately as to appear at times stern; and her keen dark eye may have seemed rather to penetrate the thoughts of others than to seek to win their affections. In this, she stood in striking contrast to the meek

and yielding spirit of the man she had chosen to wed. It may possibly be that she had no considerable success in attaching the feelings of the parishioners to her, and no special anxiety to secure such an influence. But she was a woman of a noble and benevolent nature; she was abundantly capable of guiding her affairs with discretion. If she was formed to rule, she wished to secure the happiness of her subjects. All this appeared in her dignified old age, when the bearing of a lofty but gracious courtesy was chastened by the touches of many a sorrowful experience, and by the dispositions of a religious and kindly heart; and she sat at the head of her house, making it as wide as it could be spread for the sheltering home of as many as it would hold. This union, that was solemnized on the 28th of January, 1795, gave birth to eight children, five of whom still survive, — Thaddeus William, the learned Librarian of Harvard University, and one of the most distinguished entomologists of our country, Mary Dorothy, Clarendon, John Alexander, and James Winthrop. In the early part of his married life, he was greatly embarrassed and his mind was much distracted by the consequences of building “a large and expensive house.” He did not enter upon this unfortunate undertaking without being advised to it from the most encouraging quarter, — that from which he had reason to expect the greatest assistance in completing the work. That expectation, however, was doomed to utter disappointment. The fortune of his father-in-law turned out to be no resource for him; and this led to mortifications that were deep and lasting. Dr. Pierce says of them: “It would be difficult to describe the sufferings which he endured from this source. Constituted as he was, it is to the surprise of all who best knew him, that he did not sink under the accumulated weight of his misfortunes and trials.” But these disquietudes, and the various others that can hardly be separated from a laborious and anxious ministerial life, were not all with which he had soon to struggle. In the summer of 1802 a virulent disease broke out, which was pronounced to be yellow-fever. Mr. Harris was assiduous in his attendance upon the sick. In consequence of his exposure to the effluvia of

an apartment where eight adult persons died within a few days of each other, he was himself taken down with the malignant distemper. His recovery from it was slow; and when the spring of the following year opened, he was found to continue so debilitated as to be induced to leave his home for a tour into Ohio, which at that time had just arrived at the dignity of a State. Special motives of a private kind led him in that direction, and so far. But no other stimulus could have been needed than the attractive condition of that part of the country to an inquisitive mind. He loved to see for instruction's sake, and to learn that he might communicate what he had acquired; and Ohio, now so flourishing a commonwealth in the American Union, had then the charm, not inferior to the curious eye, of fresh, picturesque, and most luxuriant Nature, with the promise of future social greatness. He was absent four months; and within two years after his return he published the result of his journey in an octavo volume, "Journal of a Tour into the Territory Northwest of the Alleghany Mountains, with a Geographical and Historical Account of Ohio." This work did him great credit as an observer and as a writer. It has been out of print for a long time. Dr. Pierce says: "The celebrated John Foster, of London, author of *Essays on Decision of Character*, &c., employed a friend to procure it for him. As it could not be found in any bookstore, I reluctantly parted with my own copy, to satisfy the curiosity of this learned man."

The introduction is so characteristic of the writer, with its quaint plaintiveness, that the first and last portions of it are here inserted. "Having long labored under wasting sickness, which obliged me for a time to relinquish the duties of my ministry; my mind, naturally feeble and timid, sunk under its depressions and yielded to despondency. . . . A much esteemed neighbor, Mr. Seth Adams, was about making an excursion into the territory northwest of the Ohio, and proposed my accompanying him thither. My brother-in-law, Mr. John Dix, kindly offered to be my attendant, and assisted me in summoning resolution for the undertaking."

“To the candor of the Public,
I submit my work ;
to the
providence and favour of ALMIGHTY GOD,
I commend my beloved family ;
and to the hopes,
not of the present,
but
of the future life,
I resign myself.”

Shortly after his return from this Western expedition,—indeed but a month or two afterwards,—he published a compilation, “The Minor Encyclopædia,” in four small volumes. Though I am not aware of its obtaining any great notoriety, it seems to have left an impression upon the memory of one of the greatest men of this generation. Daniel Webster, on meeting Dr. T. W. Harris at the foot of the White Mountains, the summer before last, said to him: “Your father was the Rev. Thaddeus Mason Harris. He prepared a useful work called the Minor Encyclopædia, which I remember to have seen many years ago.” In 1805, Mr. Harris appeared again before the *Φ. B. K.* Society at their annual celebration, reciting a poem “On the Patronage of Genius,” and it was in the same year that he was elected a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. After five years more of persevering service as a professional and literary man, he sailed from New York to England. This was a great event in his recluse and sedentary life. He was allowed to gratify that filial reverence for the land of his forefathers, which he entertained very deeply ; to see with his eyes what had always been painted fondly upon his imagination, and to make personal acquaintance with learned men of the old hemisphere. In these expectations he was not doomed to be disappointed. The shy student admired with a keen delight the wonders of which he had only read, and entered into correspondences that added not a little to the satisfaction of his after days. Having visited several parts of England, Scotland, and Ireland, he embarked at Liverpool for New York, where he ar-

rived May 13, 1811; his voyage and visit having occupied about nine months. Many of the letters that passed between him and excellent persons abroad are still in the possession of his family.

The following year the Antiquarian Society was incorporated. His turn of thought led him to take peculiar interest in the researches which such a society was designed to promote; and he may be regarded as one of its founders, since his diploma is dated on the same month with its act of incorporation. He loved everything that carried him back to the remote past, while at the same time he had no servile adherence to what was old, as if it could thereby obtain any authority for us, but looked forward with sanguine hope of great improvements to be continually making hereafter. It may be properly mentioned in this connection, that when Judge Winthrop, in 1788, made a copy of the famous inscription on the "Dighton rock," which has mystified the wisdom of so many wise men of the North, Mr. Harris, then a young man of twenty, accompanied and assisted him. I have heard him describe the pantographic process by which it was done. Considering the amount of fiction and of controversy to which this supposed writing has given occasion, and considering also the injury done to the *document* itself by the fading of the characters and the wearing of the stone through the action of air and wave, this transcript may be considered valuable. It is preserved in the library of Harvard College, and a part of it has been engraved in the great Danish publication. A different diploma awaited him the next year; one that was not of his seeking, but rather marked his deserving, — that did not show his wish for further instruction, but was a reward for having already attained to so much. So at least his degree of Doctor in Divinity was considered at Harvard College, in 1813. It was richly merited, and conferred at comparatively an early age.

The most considerable of Dr. Harris's works, if estimated by the amount of patient scholarship that it contains, appeared in 1820. It was the "Natural History of the Bible." As early as 1793, while he was Librarian of the University, he printed a small volume under this title.

But the present edition was greatly enlarged and improved, so as to be substantially a new book. "The late Cardinal Cheverus, then resident in Boston, spoke in high terms of this treatise." It is extremely valuable as a manual on this pleasant subject. Biblical students will find nowhere a volume that can be compared to it in this line of inquiry. He was very desirous to publish it in an illustrated form, and would most gladly have called in the art of the engraver to second the descriptions of his pen. But such a project was too costly, and he abandoned it. The undertaking, even as it was, and with all its praise upon its back, was destined to rather more than the usual share of literary misfortune. "*Laudatur et alget*," to be commended and to starve, was written for it in the higher book of the Fates. In the first place, it found but a slow sale, and of course gave small remuneration for the toil of its author. In the second place, an English pirate pounced upon a copy of it that had found its way to the other side of the sea; recast it, with some variations and additions, in a pictured and popular form, changing the alphabetical into a scientific arrangement; then published it under his own name, with a grand parade of always giving his "authorities," and "conscientiously" respecting the rights of "literary property," and realized substantial profits from the sale of it through several editions. Not content with this theft and hypocrisy, he had the effrontery to allude in his preface to a Mr. Harris, who had written a book on the same subject, which was rendered "unfit for general use by the utter destitution of evangelical sentiment" in it. A notice of this Mr. William Carpenter and his "Scripture Natural History" may be found in the *American Monthly Review*, Vol. IV. pp. 80-86. The "Natural History of the Bible" met with its final disaster at the great fire in Court Street, Boston, which destroyed the extensive book establishment of Messrs. Wells and Lilly, its publishers. All the copies that remained unsold, and this was by far the greater part of the edition, were then burnt up. Such was the fate of a book that met at home a reception far inferior to its deserts; while it has gone through several editions in England, and has been published on the Continent in a German translation.

Mention has been made of several societies of which Dr. Harris was a member, and, with his activity and faithfulness, membership always implied something really done. The list of these might be easily enlarged, for he loved to take part in every association that was meant to promote the objects of natural science, or any good learning, or social improvement, or religion, or charity. He was a member of the Humane Society, of the Massachusetts Bible Society, the New York Historical Society, the American Peace Society, and the Horticultural Society. Of the Congregational Charitable Society he was at one time the Vice-President. The Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians found him a useful coadjutor. Later in life he became a corresponding member of the Georgia Historical Society, and of the Archæological Society in Athens, Greece. But there was one institution in which his mind and feelings took a peculiar interest, for which he studied and wrote more than almost any of his contemporaries, and in the cause of which he suffered for a long time such a quantity and coarseness of printed abuse, as would have been hard to bear even by a stoic or a man-at-arms, and must have cut such an extremely sensitive nature as his to the quick. He seems to have attached himself early to this association, for in 1792 he collated, revised, and published the "Constitutions of the Ancient and Honorable Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons"; an octavo volume, printed at Worcester, Mass., which came to a second edition in 1798. For a number of years he was Chaplain and Secretary of the Grand Lodge, and rendered frequent and various service to that body by occasional addresses, by his defences of Masonry, — sometimes in anonymous tracts, — and a volume of Masonic Discourses published in 1801. These works, says an adept,* "constitute a large part and valuable portion of the Masonic, classic literature of America. They contain a faithful and dispassionate exhibition of our principles, in that chaste and captivating style, that forcible and earnest lan-

* Rev. Benjamin Huntoon, in "A Eulogy, delivered by the Request of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, at the Funeral Services in Commemoration of Rev. and R. W. Thaddeus Mason Harris, D. D., and R. W. Brother Samuel Thaxter, at the Masonic Temple, May 4th, 1842."

guage, which characterize all the productions he has given to the public." In 1816 "A. L. 5816" the Lodge presented to him a silver vase in token of their high appreciation of the benefits he had conferred on their order, with the inscription: "Memoria tenemus quæ non remunerare possumus." In the storm of obloquy that was raised against Free-Masonry and Free-Masons, after the sad events of 1826, that swept over the vast field of politics as well as through the sanctuaries of private life, and convulsed the whole nation, Dr. Harris, from his social position, his talents and learning, and the leading part that he had taken in the concerns of the fraternity, was a conspicuous mark for attack. Papers of all kinds were continually sent to him, loaded with indecent remonstrances and personal insult. But of these he took no notice in any way. He showed neither anger, nor mortification, nor fear. Though he felt them deeply, he said nothing. Through the whole of that trying emergency, he preserved his patience and kindliness; provoked to no retort, and quietly persevering in the course that he continued to think right. His friends who knew best his aspen-like sensibility could not fail to be struck with the calmness and firmness with which he held his peace and discharged his duty. He once pointed to a high shelf in his library, that seemed to be stored with papers of different shapes, and said to a young man who had the privilege of his friendship: "All the pieces there contain something abusive of me; but I have put them far out of the way, I never take them down." Such was the truly Christian temper that he showed of meekness and forgiveness; while at the same time, as he spoke these words, an expression came over his face, half of painful feelings and half of a sly comic wonder, that a poor minister like him, who had never wished or done the least harm to anybody all the days of his life, should be singled out for such a whirlwind of vituperation.

In the winter of 1832-33, he was visited with an alarming fit of sickness, which reduced him to so great a state of debility, that it was thought advisable for him to seek the aid of a milder climate than that of New England before another winter came round. Georgia was now

the point of his destination. On the first day of December, 1833, he embarked for Charleston, S. C., where he remained about two months, enjoying the hospitalities of that cultivated and high-mannered city. The 10th day of February, 1834, found him at Savannah. Here he had no sooner arrived, than he began to make inquiries about the early history of the town that lay about him, so large and populous, but yet in so much repose and rural beauty. He was reminded that it was just a hundred and one years since the first settlers landed, and the first Georgian city was laid out. February 10, 1733, is the date of the first letter which Oglethorpe, the founder of the new colony, wrote to the trustees in England. The answers that he received to his questions, and the further researches that he was led to make, awakened in his mind a great interest in the history of that remarkable man, who was certainly a nobler *ækist* than any that Mr. Grote has brought before us in his History of Greece, whether we consider the personage himself or his object. He was surprised to learn that no biography of him existed, and the thought occurred to him, that he would try to supply that deficiency by preparing "an authentic and tolerably minute life" of one who had lived so long and so illustriously that even the planting of a great and free commonwealth was but a small part of his fame. After spending about three months here and in Augusta, appearing occasionally in the pulpit, he returned home, where he arrived on the last day of May. He found his health refreshed and somewhat invigorated by this excursion. But the effect was not so great or so lasting as had been hoped for. He still remained feeble, and on the following year he requested the aid of a colleague, in his ministerial charge. Mr. Nathaniel Hall was ordained as his assistant, July 16, 1835, the senior pastor being then sixty-seven years of age. Even this diminished care, however, proved to be too much for him, and he resigned wholly his pastoral office in the autumn of 1836, having sustained it precisely forty-three years. His valedictory sermon was preached October 23, 1836, and is among his published discourses. Both of these proceedings towards the large parish, in the midst of which he had in youth begun his sacred labors and con-

tinued them till he was bent and whitened with age, were entirely spontaneous. They were suggested by his own mind, and carried through with a resolute purpose that had a great deal of affectionate opposition to overcome. "This measure," says Dr. Pierce, speaking of the application for a colleague, "was wholly of his own choice; not a single member of the parish ever having even hinted the expediency or the desirableness of such a step. So also when he sought the dissolution of his pastoral connection, it was not only without the desire, but contrary to the remonstrance, of all who took an active part among his people." The old and the young minister separated with mutual expressions of kindness and equal prayers of intercession for the congregation which one of them alone was hereafter to guide. On the next Lord's day, Rev. Mr. Hall preached his sermon of accession, which was also published.

In the summer of 1838, Dr. Harris and his wife transferred their church relation from the First Church in Dorchester to the First Church in Boston; and they remained in that connection till, one after the other, they were dismissed to the communion of the Church above. The past minister of that old congregation at that time cannot think it improper here to add one affectionate word in memorial of his respected parishioner. It has been often declared, that the most undesirable hearers are those who have ceased to preach, and the poorest parishioners are those who have just come down from the desk. After some considerable experience, he has never found it to be so. He believes the assertion to be an injurious and unwarranted one. Certainly, Dr. Harris was a remarkable example of the contrary; being always encouraging and helpful to the pulpit under which he sat, and an excellent member of the society which he had often instructed and moved with his voice. After the resignation of his pastorate, he continued diligently occupied in study and in the various business of a studious man. He frequently preached, as circumstances invited him. He was busy where he could be of use. He rendered essential service to the libraries of the Massachusetts Historical Society and of Harvard University, — to the first in arranging its

treasures, and to the last in increasing them, and in suggesting means of further improvement. His most considerable literary labor was the carrying out of the project which he had formed upon the Savannah River. In 1841 appeared his "Biographical Memoirs of James Oglethorpe, Founder of the Colony of Georgia," in one octavo volume. The expenses of the publication were defrayed for the most part by gentlemen belonging to that Commonwealth. It would have been strange if they had not felt a peculiar interest in such a work. They had reason to take pride in setting such a name as Oglethorpe's at the head of their short annals and comparatively late beginning in the great brotherhood of American States. He was a soldier, a statesman, a scholar, and a philanthropist. He was the friend of Johnson, and is praised in the verses of Thomson and Pope. Hannah More called him "the finest figure of a man she ever saw," when he was much above ninety years old, "with his faculties as bright as ever"; and Edmund Burke told him "that he looked upon him as a more extraordinary person than any he had ever read of; for he had absolutely called into existence the province of Georgia, and had lived to see it become an independent State." He belonged to the seventeenth century, and served with Prince Eugene, first as his secretary and afterwards as his aide-de-camp, and yet called on John Adams a day or two after he arrived in London as Ambassador of the United States. Where shall we find more claims to distinction? This book, which ought to do much to spread and perpetuate a vivid image of him among the lovers of our national history, is written in a pure and simple manner, and has many pleasant anecdotes for the general reader.

The last work of Dr. Harris was now issued. His last sermon was about to be delivered. His old congregation at Dorchester heard him preach once more, and once only, on the anniversary of his ordination, October 31, 1841. Age seems to grow more attached to anniversaries as their rounds are coming to an end. He felt a wish to preach at Brookline for his friend Dr. Pierce, whose ordination sermon he had delivered just forty-five years before; and in this wish he was gratified. On that occasion he appeared

unusually well in the services of the desk, and seemed more likely to hold on for a few years longer than he had done for some time. But it was appointed to him to stop there. He was animated that day with new purposes of literary labor, as well as with an increase of spirits and strength. "At parting," writes Dr. Pierce, "he expressed his intention of soon renewing his visit, to see if he could obtain aid in a History of Dorchester, which he was preparing for the press, agreeably to the solicitations of his former parishioners. He had singular qualifications, and possessed a great variety of documents, for such a work. But he has left it unfinished; and it is doubtful whether any survivor will be able to complete it according to his original plan." On the Saturday night following, he was suddenly seized with severe pains in the chest, which became at once alarming. The disease was an inflammation of the lungs, that immediately prostrated him, and at length deprived him of the use of all his faculties. He lingered but a week, and then expired tranquilly early on Sunday morning, April 3, 1842, aged 73 years, 8 months, and 27 days. Some of his friends have expressed the thought that it was a merciful decree of the Divine Providence, in pity to his constitutional apprehensiveness and nervous excitability, thus to drop a veil over his consciousness, and shorten and darken for him the way of death. Doubtless it was merciful. It spared him a trial from which he might possibly have shrunk, as any one else might. But the most delicate natures are often made as calm and stout as the hardiest, when their need comes; and there is no reason to think, that, with all his manifold preparation for leaving this life, he would have been unsustained or found wanting. He was buried on the annual Fast-day, April 7. The domestic funeral service was performed at his house in Boston, by the minister of the First Church, and attended by a large company of those who were desirous of paying this mark of respect. A more public service took place at the meeting-house in Dorchester, in the afternoon. Though the weather was rainy, the church was crowded with hearers; and it was remarked that as deep an emotion pervaded the assembly as if the deceased had been taken away in the midst of

his ministerial life. The funeral sermon by his successor, affectionate and discriminating, was afterwards given to the public; and another, preached on the following Lord's day, in Boston, was also printed. A discourse by Dr. Pierce, delivered both at Brookline and Dorchester, was not yielded to the request of the society in the latter place that he would furnish a copy of it for publication. The body of Dr. Harris was laid in the cemetery of the town where he had been a religious teacher and comforter the greater part of his days. An obelisk of white marble, about seventeen feet high, is there erected to his memory.

The leading traits of his mind and character have already been incidentally traced in the preceding narrative. Little, therefore, remains needful to be said on these points. He was a man of fervent, unaffected piety. In his theological opinions he belonged to the early liberal school. In his mode of presenting religious truth he was evangelical, in the truest sense of that term. His style of preaching, though not captivating, was earnest, tender, and instructive. In the early part of his ministry he was accustomed to exchange pulpit services, not only with all ministers of the Congregational denomination, but with some who belonged to other sects. Dr. Stillman and Dr. Baldwin, Baptist clergymen, were upon the list of these exchanges. He always lamented the divisions that afterwards arose and broke up this harmony. He refused to assume any party position in the Church Universal. He would not consent to derive his title from any other name than "that which is above every name." He was unwilling that his church, so long as he had the superintendence over it, should be otherwise denominated. Certainly this repugnance to sectarianism was founded in the best feelings of brotherhood, and to some extent in a just perception of abstract truth. But after all, every man and every body of men may perhaps as well make up their mind to wear patiently such appellations as suit them the nearest, and others may find it convenient to bestow. Differences will have words to express and designate them, whether we choose the words or not, — whether we like them or not. The churches of Dorchester and Brookline were assuredly not Catholic, but Protestant;

not Presbyterian, nor Episcopal, nor Baptist, nor Methodist, but Congregational; not Trinitarian and Calvinistic, but something else. What that something should be called need not have exercised him much, and probably did not. He laid chief stress on the practical parts of religion, attaching comparatively little importance to its theories. The spirit of the Gospel, its lessons for the heart rather than the speculative reason, its obligations, its comforts, its divine assurances, were to him the believer's great concern. His affections were quick, his sympathies overflowing, his sensibilities tremblingly alive. So marked a trait was this in his disposition, that a ribald writer, in a collection of miscellaneous essays called "The Puritan," had the effrontery to describe him under a ridiculous nickname as disqualifying himself, by a mawkish tenderness, for the duties of his holy office. The indecent slander was refuted by the united testimony of his people, who had been confirmed and consoled times without number by his pastoral faithfulness. He had his weaknesses, of which no one was so well aware as himself; but they were not allowed to interfere with the discharge of his duties. Nay, that very readiness of his to melt with his emotions would sometimes give the highest efficiency to his acts of condolence; and when he was weakest, then was he strong. He was subject to great changes of mood; sometimes depressed beyond the point of a sustained manhood, and then again elated — at least in the earlier part of his life — beyond the point that appeared strictly becoming; but he never lost sight of his relations to an Almighty Father, and never abated his benevolent feelings towards those fellow-sufferers and fellow-sinners who were "also in the body." He was invariably modest, gentle, compassionate; grateful as a child for every kindness; ambitious of maintaining a good esteem and report among men present and to come; and loving to lean upon those friendly regards, which he loved still better to return, and which he strove to deserve, while he had too much self-respect to solicit or to stoop for them. His manners were affable, very engaging to most persons, and not repulsive to any. There was nothing hard, or morose, or severe about him; noth-

ing vehement ; nothing importunate or unduly pressing ; and nothing too yielding either, when his conscience and not his feelings stood concerned. He was a courteous Christian gentleman. In spite of the pensive and almost plaintive tone of his mind, it had its playful keys, that were not seldom in motion. His wit stole out, half-suppressed, by the side of his learning, and made him at times the most agreeable of companions. This comic element of his nature always seemed to come shyly forward. It was kept in check by his native diffidence, the decorums of his profession, the sober hues of his habits of thought, and the working experiences of an anxious life. But perhaps it seemed the pleasanter on that very account. It never heightened its flavor by satire and ill-nature, nor amused itself at the expense of others.

As a thinker and writer, he is represented by an unusual number of printed performances. They are not famous, they are not remarkable for profoundness, or novelty, or force, or elegance. They were prepared because stated duties demanded them, or historic taste led to them, and not because a fervid genius inspired them. They are composed of occasional pamphlets that are apt to die with their occasions, and of researches in natural and civil history which require patient toil and scarcely admit of a talking popularity. Most of them must dissolve in the general current of improvement, and be nameless, though not inoperative, or else give place to successors that shall be more valuable or more showy than they. But they do great honor to his industry, his accuracy, and his intellectual and spiritual culture. They are written in a simple and pure style ; written with pains-taking and a scholar-like zeal ; written to impart knowledge and to do good. They had their uses once, and retain some of their virtues still. They have won for him an estimable place among the worthies of his generation and of the land. His work was done in the day of it, and done well ; and it will follow him with approbation, though little may remain to challenge applause. It ought not to be omitted in this connection, that there was another Muse besides that of History standing by him, whose favor he carefully sought. He often composed verses that met commend-

ably the circumstances that called them forth. Some of them were sung or recited in public assemblies, and never failed to please. If they carried with them neither fire nor tears, nor showed any extraordinary gifts of fancy, they breathed an excellent spirit, and flowed in skilful and graceful numbers. They have the good fortune to continue in memory, and to have a life upon the tongues of men. The yet growing fame of EDWARD EVERETT has quite lately revived some lines of his, and brought them widely into notice. He was the minister who baptized the future orator and statesman, and he prepared these verses for him to speak, when a very little boy, at a school exhibition. Nothing can be more felicitous than they are, with their perfect ease and unforced playfulness. It is not often that one's early pleasantries can be brought up at a distant day, recommended by their own merits, and even made illustrious by noble associations.

The following list of Dr. Harris's publications is the most complete that can be furnished: —

1. SERMONS AND ADDRESSES.

1. New Year's Sermon. Jan. 1, 1796.
2. Sermon at the Ordination of Rev. John Pierce, Brookline. March 15, 1797.
3. Sermon on the National Fast. May 9, 1798.
4. Century Sermon, to a Society of Young Men. Dec. 25, 1798.
5. Sermon on the Death of Washington. Dec. 29, 1799.
6. Sermon on the Death of his Mother. Feb. 8, 1801.
7. Sermon after the Execution of Jason Fairbanks. Sept. 13, 1801.
8. Sermon on the Church Covenant. Dec. 6, 1801.
- 9–20. Twelve Masonic Discourses. 1801.
21. Sermon at the Installation of Rev. Abiel Abbot, Beverley. Dec. 14, 1803.
22. Address at the Interment of Three Persons drowned. Dec. 28, 1803.
23. New Year's Sermon to the Young. Jan. 1, 1804.
24. Sermon on the Death of Deacon Abijah White. Oct. 10, 1804.
25. Artillery Election Sermon. June 3, 1805.
26. Discourse before the Humane Society. June 10, 1806.
- 27–29. Three Discourses before the Second Church, Dorchester. 1806.
30. Sermon at the Ordination of Rev. C. H. Sherman, Dover, N. H. May 6, 1807.
31. Sermon before the Union Lodge, Dorchester. June 24, 1807.
32. Sermon at the Ordination of Rev. Enoch Pratt, Barnstable. Oct. 28, 1807.
33. Thanksgiving Discourse. Nov. 27, 1807.
34. Discourse on Forefathers' Day at Plymouth. Dec. 22, 1808.

35. Sermon at the Ordination of Rev. Samuel Osgood, Springfield. Jan. 25, 1809.
36. Sermon on the Death of Hon. James Bowdoin. 1812.
37. "Earnest Caution against Suicide." A Sermon. 1812.
38. Sermon on Sensibility. Preached and published in England.
39. Sermon on the Death of Ebenezer Wales, Esq. March 5, 1813.
40. Sermon on the Death of Judge Moses Everett. March 29, 1813.
41. Sermon before the Boston Female Asylum. Sept. 24, 1813.
42. Address before the Washington Benevolent Society. Feb. 22, 1813.
43. Sermon at the Ordination of Rev. Ephraim Randall, New Bedford. Oct. 26, 1814.
44. Sermon at the Ordination of Rev. Lemuel Capen, Sterling. March 22, 1815.
45. Sermon at Thursday Lecture. "Pray for the Jews." August 15, 1816.
46. Sermon on leaving the Old Meeting-House. }
47. Sermon at the Dedication of the New Meeting-House. } 1816.
48. Sermon before the Rising Star Lodge, Stoughton. 1818.
49. Sermon on the Death of Nathaniel Topliff. Dec. 4, 1819.
50. Sermon before the Philanthropic Lodge, Marblehead. 1822.
51. Sermon before the African Society in Boston. 1822.
52. Sermon before the Society for propagating the Gospel. Nov. 26, 1823.
53. Address at the Interment of James Davenport. 1824.
54. Address to the Union Lodge. 1824.
55. Sermon on the Death of Mrs. Dearborn, Boston. 1826.
- 56, 57. Memorials of the First Church in Dorchester. Two Discourses. July, 1830.
58. A Valedictory Discourse on leaving his People. Oct. 23, 1836.

2. MISCELLANEOUS PUBLICATIONS.

1. The Triumphs of Superstition. An Elegy. 1790.
2. A Clear and Practical System of Punctuation. 1797.
3. A Chronological and Topographical Account of Dorchester. 1804.
4. Account of the Happy Death of a Young Child. 1815.
5. A Textuary, or Guide to Preachers. 1818.
6. Serious Soliloquies, interspersed with Hymns, for Children. 1819.
7. Biographical Memoir of Father Rasles. (Mass. Hist. Col.)
8. Some Account of the Old Book of Records, Dorchester. 1834.

3. LARGER WORKS.

1. Natural History of the Bible. 1793 and 1820.
2. Journal of a Tour to Ohio. 1805.
3. Biographical Memorials of James Oglethorpe, Founder of Georgia. 1841.

4. COMPILATIONS, ABRIDGMENTS, &c.

1. Constitutions of the Fraternity of Masons. 1792 and 1798.
2. Massachusetts Magazine or Monthly Museum. Edited by him in 1795 and 1796.

3. Beauties of Nature delineated. From Sturm's Reflections. 1800, 2d edit. 1801.
4. Exercises of Piety. From Zollikoffer. 1803, 2d edit. 1807.
5. The Minor Encyclopædia, compiled from the best Authorities. 4 vols. 1803.
6. Hymns for the Lord's Supper, original and selected. 1801, 2d edit. 1820.
7. Sephora, a Hebrew Tale. Abridged and corrected from the London Edition. 1835.

At the time of his death, he had commenced a History of Dorchester, of which only three chapters were written.

THE FIRST PLYMOUTH PATENT.

[It is well known that when the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth, in 1620, they had no patent or charter authorizing them to make a settlement there. They had intended, before leaving Holland, to plant near the Hudson River, and had secured a grant accordingly from the Virginia Company. Finding themselves beyond the bounds of their patent, which therefore became "void and useless," on the return of the Mayflower, in May, 1621, they made application, through the Merchant Adventurers, to the President and Council of New England, established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for a grant of the territory on which they had unintentionally settled; and the document which follows is the result of that application.]

Mr. Weston, in a letter to Governor Carver, dated London, July 6, 1621, sent by the *Fortune*, writes: "We have procured you a Charter, the best we could, better than your former, and with less limitation." (Prince, Vol. I. p. 114.) Judge Davis, in a note on Morton's Memorial, p. 73, remarks: "This intimation refers to a patent from the President and Council of New England to John Peirce and his associates, which was in trust for the company. It was probably brought in this ship [the *Fortune*], and was a few years since found among the old papers in the Land Office at Boston, by William Smith, Esq., one of the Land Committee. It bears date June 1, 1621." This original instrument, after it was used by Judge Davis, appears to have been lost or mislaid for a number of years, as Dr. Young, in his *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers*, p. 235, remarks: "I have sought for the original in vain in the archives of the State. It was never printed; and it is to be feared is now lost."

Fortunately, however, this ancient memorial of the Pilgrims has been recently recovered at Plymouth, where it most appropriately belongs, among some papers which were once in the possession of the late Judge Davis. By the kindness of Mr. William S. Russell, the Register of Deeds at that place, and with the aid of Mr. David Pulsifer, distinguished in the art of deciphering ancient chirography, I have been enabled to secure an exact copy.

It may not be deemed uninteresting to state, that this *first* Plymouth patent, now for the first time printed, is the *first* grant, of which we have any record, made by the great Plymouth Company, which had received its act of incorporation seven months before, viz. on the 3d of November, 1620. The instrument is engrossed upon parchment, twenty-one by twenty-four inches in size, and is signed by the Duke of Lenox, the Marquis of Hamilton, the Earl of Warwick, Lord Sheffield, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges. It has the remnant of another signature which has nearly disappeared with the seal that was affixed to it. The seals of Hamilton and Sheffield are also wanting, while those of Lenox, Warwick, and Gorges yet remain attached to the instrument, in good preservation.

The editor of the Memorial gives an abstract of this patent in his Appendix, p. 362, and adds: "It does not appear what use was made of this patent by the Plymouth planters; it was, not long afterward, superseded by the second patent, surreptitiously obtained by Peirce, for his own benefit, and which, after his misfortunes, was assigned to the Adventurers." The second patent (which is not extant) was obtained April 20, 1622, as appears from one of the following memoranda, furnished me by Rev. J. B. Felt, from the State Paper Office in London:—

"June 1, 1621, Peirce had a grant from the Council for New England, of lands in N. E. for a plantation."

"April 20, 1622, he obtained a grant for himself and associates, as a joint interest, but on same day gave this up, and procured a patent or 'Deed Pole' of the said lands to himself for his heirs, associates, and assigns forever. With this proceeding the adventurers in Plymouth Colony find fault, and conceive themselves deceived by Peirce."

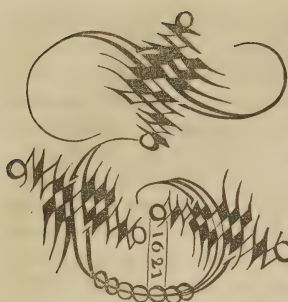
"May 18, 1623. Difficulty between John Peirce and his associates settled."

The difficulties concerning this second patent were finally settled by an assignment of it by Peirce to the Merchant Adventurers for *five hundred pounds*. See Morton's Memorial, Davis's edition, pp. 95 to 97; Prince, Vol. I. p. 136; Baylies's Memoir of Plymouth Colony, Vol. I. pp. 185, 186.

The original of the third patent, granted 13th January, 1629, O. S., to William Bradford and his associates, is preserved in the office of the Register of Deeds at Plymouth. This has been frequently printed. In this grant their territorial limits are defined, which was not the case in the first patent.

A patent of *Cape Ann*, dated January 1, 1623, O. S., was granted to the Plymouth people, by Lord Sheffield, a member of the Council of New England. This place, used for a time for their fishing stages, they soon after abandoned. The patent is extant, and will soon be published.

The terms and conditions of the grant which the Pilgrims procured from the Virginia Company at London, for a settlement about the Hudson River (alluded to above), and which was taken out "in the name of Mr. John Wincolb, a religious gentleman, then belonging to the Countess of Lincoln," are not known. The correspondence and negotiations that took place in procuring it may be seen in Young's Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers, pp. 52-76. C. D.]



his Indenture made the First Day of June 1621 And in the yeeres of the raigne of our soūaigne Lord **James** by the grace of god King of England Scotland Fraunce and Ireland defendor of the faith &cℓ That is to say of England Fraunce and Ireland the Nynetenth and of Scotland the fowre and fiftith/ Betwene the President and Counsell of New England of the one p̄tie And John Peirce Citizen and Clothworker of London and his Associatℓ of the other p̄tie **Witnesseth** that whereas the said John Peirce and his Associatℓ haue already transported and vndertaken to transporte at their cost and chardges themselves and dyvers p̄sons into New England and there to erect and build a Towne and settle dyvers Inhabitantℓ for the advancem^t of the geⁿall planta^cōn of that Country of New England **Now the sayde** President and Counsell in considera^cōn thereof and for the furtherance of the said planta^cōn and incoragem^t of the said Vndertakers haue agreed to graunt assigne allott and appoynt to the said John Peirce and his associatℓ and eūy of them his and their heires and assignes one hundred acres of grownd for eūy p̄son so to be transported besides dyvers other pryviledges Liberties and comōdyties hereafter men^cōned/ And to that intent they haue graunted allotted assigned and confirmed/ And by theis p̄ntℓ doe graunt allott assigne and confirme vnto the said John Peirce and his Associatℓ his and their heires & assignes and the heires & assignes of eūy of them seūally & respectyvelie one hundred seūall acres of grownd in New England for eūy p̄son so transported or to be transported (Yf the said John Peirce or his Associatℓ contynue there three whole yeeres either at one or seūall tymes or dye in the meane season after he or they are shipped with intent there to inhabit The same Land to be taken & chosen by them their deputies or assignes in any place or places whersoēū not already inhabited by any English and where no English p̄son or p̄sons are already placed or settled or haue by order of the said President and Councell made choyce of, nor within Tenne myles of the same (vnles it be on the opposite syde of some great or Navigable Ryver to the former p̄ticuler planta^cōn, together with

the one half of the Ryver or Ryvers, that is to say to the middest thereof as shall adioyne to such land℥ as they shall make choyce of together with all such Liberties pryviledges pffitt℥ & comōdyties as the said Land and Ryvers which they shall make choyce of shall yeild together with free liḃtie to fishe in and vpon the Coast of New England and in all havens port℥ and creekes Therevnto belonging and that no pson or psons whatsoever shall take any benefitt or liḃtie of or to any of the grownds or the one half of the Ryvers aforesaid (excepting the free vse of highwayes by land and Navigable Ryvers, but that the said vndertakers & planters their heires & assignes shall haue the sole right and vse of the said grownds, and the one half of the said Ryvers with all their pffitt℥ & app'teñnc℥ / **And** forasmuch as the said John Peirce and his associat℥ intend and haue vnder-taken to build Churches, Schooles, Hospitalls Towne howses, Bridges and such like workes of Charytie As also for the maynteyning of Magistrat℥ and other inferio^r Officers / In regard whereof and to the end that the said John Peirce and his Associat℥ his & their heires & assignes may haue wherewithall to beare & support such like charg℥ / **Therefore** the said President & Councell aforesaid do graunt vnto the said Vndertakers their heires & assignes Fifteene hundred acres of Land moreover and aboue the aforesaid proporḃōn of one hundred the pson for eūy vnder-taker & Planter to be ymployed vpon such publiq vses as the said Vndertakers & Planters shall thinck fitt / **And** they do further graunt vnto the said John Peirce and his Associat℥ their heires & assignes, that for eūy pson that they or any of them shall transport at their owne prop cost℥ & charg℥ into New England either vnto the Lands hereby graunted or adioyninge to them within Seaven Yeeres after the feast of S^t John Baptist next comīng Yf the said pson transported contynue there three whole yeeres either at one or seūall tymes or dye in the meane season after he is shipped with intent there to inhabit that the said pson or psons that shall so at his or their owne charg℥ transport any other shall haue graunted and allowed to him & them and his & their heires respectyvelie for eūy pson so transported or dyeing after he is shipped one hundred acres of Land, and also that eūy pson or psons who by contract & agream^t to be had & made with the said Vndertakēs shall at

his & their owne charge transport him & themselves or any other and setle and plant themselves in New England within the said Seaven Yeeres for three yeeres space as aforesaid or dye in the meane tyme shall haue graunted & allowed vnto euery pson so transporting or transported and their heires & assignes respectyvely the like number of one hundred acres of Land as aforesaid the same to be by him & them or their heires & assignes chosen in any entyre place together and adioyning to the aforesaid Land℥ and not straglingly not before the tyme of such choyce made possessed or inhabited by any English Company or within tenne myles of the same (except it be on the opposite side of some great Navigable Ryver as aforesaid **F**eilding and paying vnto the said President and Counsell for euery hundred acres so obteyned and possessed by the said John Peirce and his said Associat℥ and by those said other psons and their heires & assignes who by Contract as aforesaid shall at their owne charg℥ transport themselves or others the Yerely rent of Two shilling℥ at the feast of St. Michael Tharchaungell to the hand of the Rentgatherer of the said President & Counsell and their successo's foreu / the first paym^t to begyn after the'xpiraçon of the first seaven Yeeres next after the date hereof **A**nd further it shalbe lawfull to and for the said John Peirce and his Associat℥ and such as contract with them as aforesaid their Teñnt℥ & s̃rvant℥ vpon dislike of or in the Country to returne for England or elsewhere with all their good℥ & chattells at their will & pleasure without lett or disturbaunce of any paying all debt℥ that iustly shalbe demaunded **A**nd likewise it shalbe lawfull and is graunted to and for the said John Peirce and his Associat℥ & Planters their heires & assignes their Teñnt℥ & s̃rvant℥ and such as they or any of them shall contract with as aforesaid and send and ymploy for the said plantaçon to goe & returne trade traffiq inport or transport their good℥ & m̃chaundize at their will & pleasure into England or elsewhere paying onely such dueties to the King℥ ma^{tie} his heires & successo's as the President and Counsell of New England doe pay without any other taxes Imposiçons burthens or restraint℥ whatsoever vpon them to be ymposed (the rent hereby res̃ved being onely excepted) **A**nd it shalbe lawfull for the said Vndertakēs & Planters, their heires & successo's freely to truck trade & traffiq with

the Salvages in New England or neighboring thereabout℥ at their wills & pleasures without lett or disturbance/ As also to haue libt̃ie to hunt hauke fish or fowle in any place or places not now or hereafter by the English inhabited/ **And the said** President & Counsell do coveñnt & promyse to and with the said John Peirce and his Associat℥ and others contracted wth as aforesaid his and their heires & assignes/ That vpon lawfull ſrvey to be had & made at the charge of the said Vndertakers & Planters and lawfull informaçõ given of the bownd℥, meet℥, and quantytie of Lands so as aforesaid to be by them chosen & possessed they the said President & Counsell vpon ſrrender of this p̃nte graunt & Indenture and vpon reasonable request to be made by the said Vndertakers & Planters their heires & assignes within seaven Yeeres now next coming, shall and will by their Deede Indented and vnder their Cõmon seale graunt in-fieffe & confirme all and eũy the said land℥ so sett out and bownded as aforesaid to the said John Peirce and his Associat℥ and such as contract with them their heires & assignes in as large & beneficiall manner as the same are in theis p̃nt℥ graunted or intended to be graunted to all intent℥ & purposes with all and eũy p̃ticuler pryviledge & freedome reſvaçõ & condiçõ with all dependances herein specyfiẽd & graunted/ *And* shall also at any tyme within the said terme of Seaven Yeeres vpon request vnto the said President & Counsell made, graunt vnto them the said John Peirce and his Associat℥ Vndertakers & Planters their heires & assignes, Letters & Graunt℥ of Incorporaçõ by some vsuall & fitt name & tytle with Libẽrty to them and their successors from tyme to tyme to make orders Lawes Ordynaunc℥ & Constituçõs for the rule government ordering & dyrecting of all p̃sons to be transported & settled vpon the land℥ hereby graunted, intended to be graunted or hereafter to be granted and of the said Land℥ & proffitt℥ thereby arrysing/ *And* in the meane tyme vntill such graunt made, Yt shalbe lawfull for the said John Peirce his Associat℥ Vndertakers & Planters their heires & assignes by consent of the greater p̃t of them/ To establish such Lawes & ordynaunc℥ as are for their better governem^t, and the same by such Officer or Officers as they shall by most voyces elect & choose to put in execuçõ/ **And** lastly the said President and Counsell do graunt and agree to and with the said John

Peirce and his Associat℥ and others contracted with and ymployed as aforesaid their heires & assignes/ That when they haue planted the Land℥ hereby to them assigned & appoynted, That then it shalbe lawfull for them with the pryvitie & allowaunce of the President & Counsell as aforesaid to make choyce of to enter into and to haue an addition of fiftie acres more for euy pson transported into New England with like resvacons condicions & pryviledges as are aboue graunted to be had and chosen in such place or places where no English shalbe then settled or inhabiting or haue made choyce of and the same entered into a booke of Act℥ at the tyme of such choyce so to be made or within tenne Myles of the same (excepting on the opposite side of some great Navigable Ryver as aforesaid/ *And* that it shall and may be lawfull for the said John Peirce and his Associat℥ their heires and assignes from tyme to tyme and at all tymes hereafter for their seūall defence & savetie to encounter expulse repell & resist by force of Armes aswell by Sea as by Land and by all wayes and meanes whatsoever all such pson & psons as without the especiall lycense of the said President or Counsell and their successo^{rs} or the greater p^t of them shall attempt to inhabit within the seūall p^sinct℥ & ly^mytt℥ of their said Plantacon/ Or shall enterpryse or attempt at any tyme hereafter distruccon, Invation, detryment or annoyaunce to the said Plantacon/ **And the said** John Peirce and his associat℥ and their heires & assignes do coveñnt & promyse to & with the said President & Counsell and their successo^{rs}/ That they the said John Peirce and his Associat℥ from tyme to tyme during the said Seaven Yeeres shall make a true Certificat to the said President & Counsell & their successors from the chief Officers of the places respectyvely of euy pson transported & landed in New England or shipped as aforesaid to be entered by the Secretary of the said President & Counsell into a Register book for that purpose to be kept **And** the said John Peirce and his Associat℥ Jointly and seūally for them their heires & assignes do coveñnt promyse & graunt to and with the said President & Counsell and their successors That the psons transported to this their p^ticuler Plantacon shall apply themselves & their Labors in a large & competent man^r to the planting setting making & procuring of good & staple comodyties in & vpon the said Land hereby graunted

vnto them as Corne & silkgrasse hemp flaxe pitch & tarre
sopeashes and potashes Yron Clapbord and other the like materi-
alls/ **In witness** whereof the said President & Counsell haue
to the one p̄t of this p̄nte Indenture sett their seales* And to
th'other p̄t hereof the said John Peirce in the name of himself
and his said Associat^l haue sett to his seale geuen the day and
yeeres first aboue written/

James Hamilton
J^r W^m W^m Th^o W^m
J^r W^m Gorges

[On the *Verso* of the instrument is the following indorsement: —]

Sealed and Delivered by my Lord Duke in the Psence of

Edward Collingwood Th^o

* This word looks a little like *seale*, with a punctuation mark following it. The sense would seem to require the plural; there were originally six seals affixed to the instrument. — C. D.

LETTERS FROM DR. WILLIAM DOUGLASS TO CADWALLADER COLDEN OF NEW YORK.

[These letters were copied from the originals in the possession of the descendants of Cadwallader Colden. — J. SPARKS.]

Boston, February 20th, 1720.

DEAR SIR,

Last fall I wrote to you by Mr. Wilson, and sometime thereafter received the favour of yours by post. Our winters are a dull dead time of the year affording nothing worth communicating, else should have troubled you again before this date. You have the good fortune to have successively gentlemen of genius and learning for Governors, and more happy in being favoured with their countenance and friendship; my case in these particulars is the reverse. You complain of the practice of Physick being undervalued in your parts and with reason; we are not much better in that respect in this place; we abound with Practitioners, though no other graduate than myself, we have fourteen Apothecary shops in Boston; all our Practitioners dispense their own medicines. Colonel Burgess' design of coming over Governor, was the inducement that brought me hither from the prospect of very good business in Bristol; notwithstanding of that disappointment I have resolved to fix here, and ramble no more. I can live handsomely by the incomes of my Practice, and save some small matter. I reckon this place at present no better than a factory as to my interest, for here we have a great trade and many Strangers with whom my business chiefly consists. I have here practice amongst

four sorts of People; some families pay me five pounds per annum each for advice sick or well, some few fee me as in Britain, but for the Native New-Englanders I am obliged to keep a day book of my Consultations advice and Visits, and bring them in a bill; others of the poorer sort I advise and visit without any expectation of fees.

According to my promise I send you inclosed the History of the winds and weather in Boston for last year. I keep a diary of the same, and from thence have extracted those Tables and Observations; for the next year I hope to contrive a better method. I have no other instruments than the naked eye, pen, ink, and paper, I know of no Thermometer nor Barometer in this place. There is a pretty good Quadrant and Telescope in the College about four miles from this, and shall find some opportunity of taking the exact Latitude of this place, its longitude from London by some Eclipse of Jupiter's first sattellite, the variation and dipping of the Needle to be communicated.

In my subsequent letters I may give you some scraps relating to the Natural History of this part of the Continent particularly of the Vegetable Kingdom; last year I made a collection of above seven hundred Plants within the compass of four or five miles from Boston, this year I think of extending ten or a dozen miles. Some small account of our copper, iron and lead ores with what improvements have here been made of them. We have no birds nor beasts peculiar to this spot of the continent, and therefore shall not pretend to give you any account of these things. I have a short history of our endemial, epidemical and incident diseases since my settling here, and shall give you (as a friend I may safely expose myself to) it rough, for it requires a long series of observations and a more penetrating genius than I had, to make them either intelligible or useful to others.

There are other matters which perhaps you have not time to enquire into, or do not care to take notice of, v. g. the nature and constitution of this Country as a Body Politick; the history of our first grants and alterations of grants; limits of our Provinces; our Indians their different Tribes and numbers. The quantity and value in gross of our yearly import and export, our most kindly or

natural produce and such like things. I have minutes of all these as they from time to time fall under my own observation, or from very good vouchers. I expect from you returns of the same nature; but pray send nothing but what is exactly true and fact; take nothing from credulous people. If from the Governor's favor you can contrive a method of Franking our letters, our correspondence may be more full and more frequent. My humble service to Dr. Johnson, Captain Kennedy and our good friends. I am

Your most humble servant,

WIL. DOUGLASS.

P. S. If Governor Burnet make a progress to the great falls this summer, as I am informed he hath some design, it is probable your curiosity may send you along with him, and you may bring back something worth communicating.

DR. CADWALLADER COLDEN, *New-York.*

Boston, July 28th, 1721.

DEAR SIR,

Yours by Mr. Nicols I received; I thank you for your account of the state of the Barometer and Thermometer at Philadelphia part 1717 and part 1718. I continue to keep a journal of the winds and weather and shall yearly transmit you the same. My simpling or botanizing is lost by reason of the small-pox; about middle of April last from Barbadoes via Saltertudas we had the distemper imported here; it was kept under strict confinement till middle of June, then broke loose and spreads moderately (it is now nineteen years since we had it in Boston last); by lucky-chance my first patient was an intricate case and her recovery gained me some credit so that at present my hands are full which diverts me from all amusements. I keep an account of all intricate incidents and shall freely communicate them to you. I have now a prospect of being well acquainted with the mazes of that distemper, having at present a large share of that practice and there are seven or eight thousands expectants of that disease in Town. The general and most common sort is the cohe-

rent depressed sort accompanied with a salivation; some have the distinct, a few the confluent sort. The late noise of inoculation I refer to the Boston News letter.

Excuse my not touching on any other subject at present, guiding myself by the maxim of *Hoc age* and of making hay while the sun shines. My humble service to all my friends particularly Dr. Johnson and Captain Kennedy. I am

Your affectionate humble servant

WIL. DOUGLASS.

P. S. Pray let me hear from you more frequently.

DR. CADWALLADER COLDEN in New York.

Boston, May 1st, 1722.

DEAR SIR,

Yours of the twelfth of March last I received, and the inclosed to Captain Kennedy I forwarded by a ship which sailed in a few hours after the receipt thereof; your letter concerning the Indians I lent to a news writer that he might extract something for the public, but not with a design of inserting it at length, there being some words in it which ought to have been omitted; however in time coming write me freely. It shall be safe unless you give me some innuendo that it may be public; your reasons against inoculation of the small-pox are strong, and I return you thanks for the communication. Having the opportunity of my good friend Mr. Relf I could not neglect writing and your present entertainment shall be the general history of our small-pox in 1720 in Boston, and the inoculation thereof, without descending to particulars. I have by me some practical observations relating to the history, and method of cure in this distemper which if desired shall candidly communicate, providing you give a large allowance for the imperfections of a young practitioner; *circiter* eighty have died with purple Spots and profuse hemorrhage which cases I have particularly noted; the cases of the inoculated as far as I have been able to learn and of which I am assured of for fact, being either eye witness or from good information, shall also in due time communicate.

After nineteen years intermission we received via Saltertudas from Barbadoes the small-pox, middle of April 1721, and by the January following it was nearly over, having affected only Boston and two or three adjacent Towns, which demonstrates that no condition of air &c can produce the small-pox without some real communication of infection from a small-pox illness. At first it makes but small progress, the month of May proving a cold wet month and the infected houses being shut up and guards set over them; about the change of the moon, middle of June, it spread so much that the watches being of no use were removed, of this first parcel very few died; beginning of July another and large parcel taken down whereof severals die, thus in the beginning they were taken all in distinct parcels at about sixteen or eighteen days distance from seizure to seizure; but when the infection became universal this could not be so distinctly observed. Hence I made this remark, that the more decumbents, the infection was the more intense (abstracting from the influence of the weather and season v. g. in October though a fine Autumn month, was the time of the greatest decumbiture and mortality) and more died than in proportion to the number of the sick. My second remark is, I have frequently observed all along our sick time, that if one of a family by some accidental infection was taken down, it proved generally sixteen or eighteen days thereafter before the rest of the family were ill (if the infection was received at home). I shall not pretend to account for this only I observe first that about the eighth, ninth or tenth day of decumbiture, the small-pox pustules begin to crack run and smell, the infection then perspiring and making its way abroad; secondly, that the inoculated generally begin to sicken the seventh or eighth day from their inoculation; and of those who were taken ill of the small-pox at sea, having received the infection ashore, none, so far as I can learn exceeded nine or ten days being from home.

Our small-pox burials were as follows, May 1; June 8; July 20; August 26; September 101; October 402; November 249; December 31; January 6; in all 844 persons in Boston. Last February an exact scrutiny was

made, it was found that Boston consisted of 10,565 souls whereof 6000 have now had the small-pox and of those 899 dyd; about 700 who never had it escaped and a few who remained in the country are free of it.

Having, sometime before the small-pox arrived, lent to a credulous vain preacher Mather, Jr., the Philosophical Transactions No. 339 and 377 which contain Timonius' and Pylermus' accounts of Inoculation from the Levant; that he might have something to send home to the Royal Society who had long neglected his communications as he complained; he sets inoculation to work in month of June; by 18th of November one hundred were inoculated, and by January in all some few more than 250 in Town and Country. Whereof some have been inoculated oftener than once before it took effect; with some it never wrought; they all complained much of head disorders, even with those who had but very few and these imperfect pustules their incisions grew up in a few days as in common superficial wounds of the skin; but about the seventh or eighth day generally they begin to complain (some few sooner or later), are feverish, their incisions inflame, open, and discharge profusely with a peculiar noisome fetor, and continue running some weeks after their small-pox pimples are dried up and they abroad about their affairs infect wherever they go (this spreading the infection and consequently rendering it more intense is a great objection against inoculation practised at random in a place whose greatest part of the people are liable to the distemper). We all knew of nine or ten inoculation deaths besides abortions that could not be concealed, we suspect more who died in the height of the small-pox, it being only known to their nearest relations whether they died of inoculation or in the natural way; some had the confluent kind, many were very full of a distinct kind, some had a large red burrow round every pustule, in some they appeared like red face pimples, but not of a determined round as in the natural distinct sort, some like the Chicken Pox, others so free and without pus, that they can scarce be said to have had the small-pox, in some the running of their incision sores has been troublesome many months and endangered the loss of limbs, with some

there still remains a crusty scab which falls and returns on the place of incision. Many have had a good genuine distinct kind. What the consequences may be and if some of them may not be liable to the small-pox in the natural way, time only can determine. But to speak candidly for the present it seems to be somewhat more favourably received by inoculation than received in the natural way. I oppose this novel and dubious practice not being sufficiently assured of its safety and consequences; in short I reckon it a sin against society to propagate infection by this means and bring on my neighbor a distemper which might prove fatal and which perhaps he might escape (as many have done) in the ordinary way, and which he might certainly secure himself against by removal in this Country where it prevails seldom. However many of our clergy had got into it and they scorn to retract; I had them to appease, which occasioned great heats (you may perhaps admire how they reconcile this with their doctrine of predestination); the inclosed pamphlets which unwillingly I was obliged to publish, may inform you more at large of the controversy, they were calculated for New York,* and I am afraid will scarce bear reading anywhere else. Our People at present are generally averse to it.

Favour me with the nature and cure of that distemper you call "pain in the side" in New-York, as also of your dry Belly ache; my service to all friends. I am

Your obliged humble servant

WIL. DOUGLASS.

To CADWALLADER COLDEN, *New-York.*

Boston, 25th July, 1722.

DEAR SIR,

Having the opportunity of our good friend Captain Kennedy I thought myself obliged to pay my respects to you in writing. The accounts of our late Indian disturbances and the procedure of the Government in that affair,

* Boston is evidently intended.

with all the other occurrences commonly called news from this place you may learn at large from our friend. I have not hitherto had spare time sufficient to reduce my loose observations to any distinct method fit for communication, finding it more natural to begin by reducing my small-pox accounts into bills and notes for the improvement of my purse; but lest you should accuse me of troubling you with a letter without any little hint for our mutual improvement or amusement, accept of the two following general remarks in the small-pox. First, small-pox patients, even these in the confluent sort in our coldest winter weather scarce ever were delirious; does not this point out the cool regimen? In cold weather they seldom require opiates or anodynes as in the hot seasons; this is to me another weighty argument for the cool regimen it being a sort of succedaneum for opiates. I have found some bad consequences from the liberal use of opiates in the small-pox which I may hereafter communicate more at large. Second remark is, that mild symptoms in the confluent, or otherways very numerous sort of small-pox is always a bad sign; it seems to imply nature from the beginning so oppressed as not to be capable of making any exertion or struggle.

Inoculation grows more and more in vogue in England though some there have died of it, I conjecture it may proceed from the *Regis ad exemplum totus componitur orbus*. We are now clear of the small-pox, and inoculation here made a poor exit; for the last six inoculated persons were in danger of violence from the people. They were by warrant of the Justices removed out of the town and sent two leagues down the Bay to an island, and were afterwards, though well, confined there by a resolve of the Assembly till the beginning of July; the three grown persons were very full of the small-pox, one of them was in danger of his life, the three children had the distemper favorable. The number of all that have been inoculated in New-England is circiter 240 persons. My humble service to all my friends. I am

Your most humble servant

WIL. DOUGLASS.

CADWALLADER COLDEN, Esq., *New-York.*

Boston, November 20th, 1727.

DEAR SIR,

According to promise in my last, you have here a fuller account of our late earthquake. First, what happened extraordinary in the weather and temper of the air for some preceding months, in order to investigate if any certain presages of the earthquake may be obtained. Secondly, an account of the earthquake itself, its direction, progress, violence, and extent, so far as I have learned. Thirdly, some remarks on earthquakes in general, and concerning some phenomena of this in particular.

First; from my diary of the winds and weather at Boston which I have kept faithfully for many years, I find that last winter was open, moderate weather. — In June many fogs with little or no wind, so as to spoil more fish in curing than has been observed for many years. — End of July extreme heat, so as in my opinion to exceed that of the West India islands while I was there; particularly first of August we had a very rare phenomenon, as the night set in for the space of an hour there were in the North-East continued coruscations and flashings, twenty to thirty in a minute, the light of each flash (though a dark night of itself) did illuminate the whole town and country so much that everything appeared as distinct as by daylight; these coruscations were not of the fiery color of lightning but of a silver color from behind some clouds as lightning is imitated in the play-house, they had no subsequent detonations or thunder claps, lightning thunder and heavy showers were at great intervals intermixed with them but entirely distinct from them. I must defer this phenomenon for the subject of some subsequent letter. — September twelfth, the storm of wind which did damage to our station-ships of war and some merchantmen was from 43° North latitude to the latitude of Bermudas, it did not with any violence reach our shore to the north and did not extend east to sea above two hundred leagues, as I learned by vessels which arrived soon after. — September sixteenth, a violent storm of wind with rain in our province at east north east; its violence was towards evening, and the strength of its central current passed through the county of Essex, the most vio-

lent we have felt for many years, it drove all our fish ships at Marblehead in Essex ashore, brought down many chimnies, overset barns, rooted up vast number of trees to the ruin of some orchards; its extent is well defined being much inferior to that of the earthquake. — Beginning of October much falling weather, and towards its end and beginning of November hard frosts. — According to Mr. Fahrenheits notion in Philosophical Transactions number three hundred and eighty one, to find the temper of the air by the accelerated or retarded motion of a pocket-watch compared with the sun's motion, I find that in the months of September and October my watch lost considerably.

We had no previous symptoms of this terræ motus mentioned by some authors, as sulphureous smells, spring water altered as to taste and smell, agitations in the sea without wind &c.; neither can I find any of the effects or consequences that some historians relate as vertigos, capitis gravedinos, nauseas, menstruery obstructions &c. A man from the West-Indias did sometime before mention something relating to earthquakes because of ground thunder (that is the noise of thunder in serene weather without clouds) which he had heard in the summer.

Secondly; wind in the morning west southerly, by night comes west northerly. October twenty-ninth, ten hours, forty minutes at night very serene and freezing hard, from the north (westerly) corner was heard first a noise like a storm of wind at a distance gradually increasing to that of the roaring of a foul chimney afire, and at its height resembled the rattling of twenty or more carts unloading great stones. (Some say the dogs were observed to howl some seconds before the noise was noticed.) Good observers then in the streets say that the stars seemed to them to dance before they perceived the shock, so that the undulation in the earth was in some degree begun before the shock was attended to; the vibrations or tremor did grow gradually more quick so as in the height of it to be more quick than any fiddler could touch the most airy jig, and went off by more leisurely vibrations. The tremor may be said to have continued in Boston one and a half minute. The tops of chimnies suffered

and the ladies sustained some damage in their china. About an hour after this was another rumble with a small shake, and about day break another perceivable to all who were awake; some tell us of more small shakes though not generally perceived; but many rumblings as if at a distance from time to time were heard all the following part of the night. — In the county of Essex along Merrimack river it was more violent in tremor and continuance, some brick houses cracked, hundreds of chimney tops fell. In Newberry a spring of water broke out in a plain and brought up with it some fine gray sand like pipe clay dried and levigated, I tried it in the fire, it does not crackle, flame, fume, or afford any smell, this spring soon vanished and dried up. They write from thence that they have had daily rumblings and small shakes to this date. Friday, third of November, four o'clock P. M. a small shock was felt all over the countries of Essex and Middlesex.

We have accounts of it so far north east as our settlements reach being about one hundred and thirty miles from Boston, and so far south west as your accounts from New-York and Philadelphia; towards the south east from Boston, it did gradually decrease so fast that it cannot be supposed to reach far into the sea, the vessels that came in from sea soon after felt no agitation in the waters such as we had in our bay. Comparing all these accounts together I find that the centre of its violence must be somewhere in the wilderness north west of our settlements, and that it gradually decreased towards the south-west, and north-east; to the north east, it must reach a great way because it was violent one hundred and thirty miles north-east of Boston.

Thirdly. To account for an earthquake is no easy affair, we know the earth is full of cavities and vast hollow places. In are subterraneous lakes of some miles extent; Captain tells us that in Gloucestershire he was let down into an old lead ore pit, thirty two fathoms under ground and at length came to a river or great water twenty fathoms broad and eight fathoms deep; I myself in Barbadoes have been in large spacious caves under ground and have walked in a direct

course until our candles were half spent, it is called Cole's Hole, in it is a rivulet of fine water. We know that sulphureous damps in coal pits and other mines do catch fire with an explosion. The explosion of gun powder from a great gun occasions a tremulous vibrating motion in the gun itself. The cavity must be superficial to occasion any rent in the earth, the explosion of a sulphureous damp may waste itself in the vast caverns of the earth, without requiring an eruption.

there must then be a long underground communicating cavity. — As to the phenomena of this our earthquake; the motion under ground from this explosion is progressive and not very swift; because the rumbling or noise of it was heard sometime before it was felt; and we know that sound does not move above seven hundred miles an hour. — The progression of the *terræ motus* is not equable which may proceed from various resistances it may meet with in the interspersed cavities from the more solid sustentacula of the ground; for in our several towns there seems to be a variety in the time of duration and violence of the *schock*. — I cannot account for this *terræ motus* being sooner with you by twenty minutes because it came from the north westerly corner and not from the west southerly corner. — The noise cannot well be said to be subterraneous but seemed rather to move along the surface of the earth, and in town when the *schock* reached us seemed to clamber up the houses; it must therefore proceed from the agitation communicated to the ambient air by the trembling earth.

I have since this phenomenon read over several accounts of earthquakes in Italy, Sicily, and also here, and some indistinct accounts of these in the West Indies, in Canada, and this Province, but the page being finished I must forbear my tedious story until another time. — I am overjoyed to learn from all parts that his Excellency Mr. Burnet is our governor, and that his ability and experience are his recommendations. We are here a great people, and from the indulgence, indolence, or weakness of former governors, have got a habit of doing every man what is right in his own eyes with a leveling principle. I have for these twelve years last past, made my observa-

tions and minutes of those who lead and of those who are led, of all the shelves and rocks on which Gov. Shute and our several parties and factions have ran foul. We have here at present two parties, Dudley and Cook, who from private family resentments have drawn the country blindly into differences in public managements for several years, their characters I shall not now touch. We have at present also a sort of temporary party viz. some for making more paper money and others against it; the merits of the case his Excellency and yourself know better than I can say.

Our Assembly begins their session twenty third current. The affair of making more paper money, the granting of two lines of barrier towns, and the dividing of some counties will occasion long and tedious disputes so as to keep them sitting until Christmas. If his Excellency arrive here any time before they break up, doubtless they will make some handsome allowance for his charges of moving hither, and as is usual in the fall sessions make a considerable half-year's gratuity or salary; perhaps by management (though they never hitherto could be brought into it) and keeping both parties at a distance equally, they may strive to engage the governor by bidding upon one the other, and be brought to make a settlement for term of years; but the *ne sutor ultra crepidam*, admonishes me to stop short.

Gov. Shute did make of his government three thousand pounds per annum; by management it may be doubled. We have few places of any considerable profit in the governor's gift, but a great many small farms well leased out may be equivalent to a few great farms. The naval office is considerable and entirely in the governor's gift; the captaincy of the castle by custom is conferred on the Lieutenant Governor. The captaincies of the forts to the eastward are at present of small value viz. Fort George, Richmond on Kennebeck river, Brunswick fort, and the fort on Saco river. The governor has the nomination of the sheriffs of the several counties, (good small farms, that of Boston is the most profitable post in this Province, next to the treasurer and commissary in war time) of the registers of probates in the several counties. The governor

has also the negating of treasurers, commissaries of provisions and stores, impost officers, and collectors of excise, which may be managed with a fellow feeling. By a new commission of the peace and militia bestowed on certain persons this county may be biased, for we are all ambitious of honor and places. — I should be glad by first opportunity to know who is to be our Lieutenant Governor; it is but a name while the governor is in the Province, not being allowed so much as a place in council; doubtless his Excellency may and will receive several solicitations for places before his arrival; if my character of persons and the value of places can be of any service to his Excellency from time to time shall faithfully do it. Please let me know when his Excellency may be expected here; he has been my toast in company these several years and is now to my great joy become our toast next to the Royal family. Please also let me know what friends and attendants he brings from York.

May I be so happy in his Excellency's countenance and confidence as you have been favored with, though I cannot claim the same merit. My humble duty to his Excellency and service to all friends. I am, dear Sir,

Your most humble servant,

WIL. DOUGLASS.

P. S. Please let me hear from you frequently.

To CADWALLADER COLDEN, Esq., *New-York.*

Boston, 4th December, 1727.

SIR,

I expected to have been favored with a letter last post in relation to what affairs you may think proper to communicate to me concerning our Province, as also more particularly of the extent of the late earthquake west southward, its different time of duration, schock &c.; we have had repeated small schocks and rumblings like distant thunder for some weeks along Merrimack river and the adjacent towns; I send his Excellency some of the sand brought up with a temporary eruption of water in Newberry during the great schock. As to the extent

east northwards, it did not pass the Bay of Fundy, they having had nothing of it in Nova Scotia. — The great and just character you give of his Excellency is the reason why I cannot forbear (even to a degree I am afraid of being officious) writing of affairs relating to his interest with us. Our Assembly as I wrote in my last do bid on each others party in favor of Mr. Burnet; the lower house, I think, have agreed that the interest or profits of sixty thousand pounds now to be emitted as part of a new emission of paper money shall for ten years be a fund for a salary. If the emission could be stopped (as to the affair of instructions from home against the emitting of paper credit, the present exigencies of the government excepted, Mr. Burnet knows best how that stands) until his Excellency's arrival here, I am apt to think it might be for his interest; as also a bill now depending concerning the laying out three lines of towns (a vast affair and in which former governors have always come in for a profitable share) on our frontiers. — I am sorry to hear that his Excellency's commission is not expected until next spring; we have here numbers of candidates for every place of profit or ambition, if the governor thinks them a perquisite, it will be much for his interest to make no absolute promise of any until his arrival here. If you think proper to communicate to me anything relating to what applications are made or a making shall with integrity do his Excellency any service I am capable of.

By way of amusement I design at this conjuncture to send you in scraps the present state of this Province. That for this letter was to have been relating to our Province bills now current but must defer to my next, business having interrupted me; take for the present the following summary scheme.

Province bills circulating.

	On Funds.	On Loan.	Total.	Price of oz. of silver.
				s. d.
In the beginning of the years 1716,	£ 80,000	£ 50,000	£ 130,000	. . 9 2
1720,	69,000	150,000	219,000	. . 12 6
1727,	174,000	140,000	314,000	. . 16 or 200 pr. ct. exchange.

Thus you may see the influence that the making of much paper credit has on the real value of silver and ex-

change. — My humble duty to his Excellency and service to Mr. Kennedy and all friends. I am, dear Sir,

Your most humble servant,

WIL. DOUGLASS.

Please let me hear from you next post.

To CADWALLADER COLDEN, ESQ., *New-York.*

Boston, February 13th, 172 $\frac{7}{8}$.

DEAR SIR,

Tuesday January third, one hour fifty minutes P. M. we had a small undulating shake of an earthquake with a small concomitant noise all over the Province; having wrote so often on this phenomenon it becomes tedious to myself and doubtless to you likewise, and therefore shall say nothing further on that subject if something very extraordinary do not happen, which I am apt to think will not be in our time. — I have presumed to trouble his excellency with a letter concerning some late divisions we have had in our church called the King's chapel which I thought it my duty to notify; it is in relation to the choice of a minister, as I have more fully related in that letter. The high church party (being but a few though very noisy) would not delay the choice until Gov. Burnet's arrival, having a prejudice to the name of Bishop Burnet. By some unlucky persuasions, Mr. Jekyll our Collector was this time (though a loyal man) from some personal pique to Mr. Harris, induced to be of his party; as was also Capt. Cornwall (a loyal officer) perhaps from some disgust two years ago to our government of this Province, who in a slight to him (being unprovided) fitted out a vessel of their own against the pirates; the moderate churchmen, Mr. Burnets friends, being always in favor of our government, it was thought he resented that affair on them at this juncture. Mr. Burnets friends, the moderate party, are beyond comparison the most considerable men in the chapel, for estates &c. The others, though but a handful of leaders, are industrious noisy, and mobbish.

Your letter of January 29th came to hand while I was writing this, against next post shall endeavour to satisfy you in the particulars desired; and shall be glad to know

if his Excellency has had any apology from Captain Cornwall &c for their conduct in this affair. My humble duty to his Excellency and service to all friends. I am

Your affectionate humble servt,

WIL. DOUGLASS.

CADWALLADER COLDEN, Esq., *New-York.*

Boston, 18th March, 1727 $\frac{7}{8}$.

DEAR SIR,

We have no vessel lately from Barbadoes, but by a vessel arrived here sixteenth current from South Carolina, thirteen days passage, we are informed that the same day he sailed from South Carolina arrived there a vessel from Barbadoes with the news of Colonel Montgomery's arrival on that island. — The other part of the map of New-England which I promised some time ago, I cannot finish to my own satisfaction; it may be advisable for you to undertake that part of Connecticut which is adjacent to New-York (we having little or no communication with them) and transmit to me, the better to enable me to comply with my promise.

As to the state of our paper currency (which I also promised) I shall go no further back than the year 1720; because in the year 1723 was finished the calling in of all Province bills on funds emitted preceding the year 1720. Our first paper money was 40,000 pounds emitted in 1690 to defray the charges of the then Canada expedition. — In 1712 paper began by some to be reckoned not so good as silver at 8s. per ounce, which occasioned an act of Assembly that year making it legal tender for all debts contracted since 1705; and since that time our paper currency by too great emissions has gradually lost of its credit so that at present 16s. 6d. is but sufficient to purchase one ounce. Our paper emissions are of two sorts; viz. some on loan to be paid in the principal at set times; the interest goes towards defraying the charges of government; and some on funds to be called in after some years gradually by poll rates, impost, excise, powder money, and light-house money. The sundry emissions and times of their coming in again, I have reduced for brevity and perspicuity to the following scheme: —

To be called in again.

	Emitted on Funds.	1724	1725	1726	1727	1728	1729	1730	1731	1732	1733	1734	1735	1736	1737	1738	1739	1740	1741	1742
1720	15,000	5,000	10,000																	
1721	17,000								5,000	6,000	6,000									
1722	45,000	13,000	5,000	15,000								6,000	6,000							
1723	40,000	6,666	9,666	9,666	14,000															
1724	55,000		5,000	5,000	16,000	29,000														
1725	60,000						15,000	15,000	10,000	10,000	10,000									
1726	25,000								5,000	5,000	5,000	10,000								
1727	28,000												6,000	10,000	12,000					

On Funds.

1726-7	100,000					32,000	17,000	17,000	17,000											
1721	50,000			10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000												
1727-8	60,000															12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000
		24,666	29,666	39,666	40,000	71,000	42,000	42,000	37,000	21,000	21,000	16,000	12,000	10,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000

So that there remains at present not called in 346,000 pounds in Province Bills, whereof 32,000 pounds of the 100,000 pounds lies dead in the trustee's hands; and £314,000 circulating in Massachusetts Bills, with £10,000 circiter Connecticut Bills, £20,000 circiter Rhode Island Bills, and £25,000 New-Hampshire bills, (being all of the same value) makes £427,000 New-England paper money circulating.

As to our church affairs, which I wrote you were in great confusion, John Checkley's party by a superiority of mob would not defer the affair of another minister until his Excellency's arrival, neither could we prevail that it should be left to the Bishop of London; they have left it to Colonel Nicholson and Mr. Sanford of London to nominate a Parson, and in case we make any stand at home (as we design strenuously to do) against their proceedings, they have voted the church stock (which they have taken into their own hands) to defray all charges in compassing their designs. Mr. Harris and his friends are a sending home remonstrances to the Bishop; they proposed also to remonstrate to his Excellency in a body, which I prevented, because Mr. Burnet prudently declines meddling with any affair in this Province until his arrival here. — A missive letter is too short to let you fully into the merits of the affair. On the one side is Mr. Harris, whose character for learning and correct sermons is known all over our continent, and who of late years has by his conduct rendered himself so agreeable in this Province, that if the presentation were in the Lieutenant Governor, Council and Lower House or Assembly, he would have it nemine contradicente. His friends in the congregation are men of substance generally and all moderate churchmen. — On the other side is John Checkley a young man, ringleader of the party, his character is notorious, not long ago in this Government paragraphs in a pamphlet he published reflecting on our present constitution at home and our Government here; he went twice to England for ministerial orders, and was as often refused by the bishops because of his bad character; he has lately been under bonds for some vile actions under the color of making proselytes of our late hostages from the eastern

Indians, as also of the Narragansetts Indians in Rhode-Island government; lastly to sum up all, as, not affraid to own his principles, he wears a crucifix. His followers (Captain Cornwall, Mr. Jekyll, and a few others excepted) seem generally to be of the same principles; Cornwall and Jekyll listed I think not so much for any esteem they have to Mr. Checkley the leader of the party, as out of some pique to Mr. Harris. On their conduct I shall not pass any judgement, but they being engaged in such a party they are obliged to labor the more to vindicate themselves. — Pray excuse me to his Excellency for presuming without leave at this critical juncture (last week was the crisis) to encourage Mr. Harris' friends, by acquainting Mr. Harris that his Excellency had a good character of him from good hands, but had no good opinion of violent proceedings. — Please make my humble duty acceptable to his Excellency. — My service to all friends. I am, dear Sir,

Your affectionate humble servant

WIL. DOUGLASS.

P. S. I shall be glad to hear from you frequently.

CADWALLADER COLDEN, ESQ., *New-York.*

Boston, 22nd April, 1728.

DEAR SIR,

Your favour of the first current came to hand. The business of stilling, to very great advantage, has been here kept a mystery with the distillers. I am using my endeavors to be let into it, and so soon as I have fully understood it, shall freely communicate it. — Captain Franklyn arrived here last week from Barbadoes. Colonel Montgomery's being arrived with you prevents my writing his news. — As to anything further relating to his Excellency Mr. Burnet's interest, I shall at all times be ready to acquaint you with, so far as it becomes me in a private station and capacity. — The committee appointed to provide lodgings for the governor in the interim, until the Province House be refitted, have ordered Dr. Cook's

house for that end. Dr. Cook is my good friend; but pardon me if I express to you as my very good friend, the opinion of the gentlemen here who are of no party. I wrote you formerly that the two noted parties here are the Dudleys and Dr. Cook's, and so inveterate the one against the other, that the being with either may give a jealousy of bad consequence; but if used with the same respect, or kept at the same distance will make everything easy, and they will bid upon one another for the governor's interest and advantage. It is my opinion, (pardon my forwardness of duty to his Excellency) that if Mr. Burnet did write to the lieutenant governor to have a few rooms in the Province House fitted up for his reception (the family perhaps not coming so soon) would answer the end of giving umbrage to no party. The Dudleys are the more cunning, though perhaps not the more honest and sincere, and last Assembly had a great majority. His Excellency's prudence will direct him better than I can advise, and excuse my being so free with characters of parties, which I never did attempt before.

The commissions for Mr. Dummer of this Province, and Colonel Wentworth of New-Hampshire, as lieutenant governor, arrived here last week from London. Captain Shephard tells me that he was informed by Mr. Frank Wilks, our agent in London, that Mr. Burnet's commission was taken out about six weeks before he left London, and was to be sent in the first ship for New-York. I shall be glad to hear of its arrival. — Most of the renewed commissions and deputations for our four home officers are arrived. Our countryman Mr. John Menzies, Judge of Admiralty, (one of the eldest in the list of our Scotch advocates, well versed in the sea laws, and customs, having been in this place Judge above twelve years) has not received his deputation. His friends in London write him that the admiralty did not incline to appoint any without Mr. Burnet's recommendation. He tells his countrymen here that he would have written to his Excellency for his countenance, but understanding Mr. Burnet declined meddling till upon the spot, he would not presume to trouble his Excellency.

Pray do me the pleasure to let me know when his Ex-

cellency's commission arrives, and when he may be expected here. Though I am afraid the business of my profession will so cruelly confine me, as not to allow me the honor of meeting him, my respect and duty to his Excellency I hope will not be deemed the less. If in anything I can be useful, command me. Please make my humble duty acceptable. I am

Your most humble servant,

WIL. DOUGLASS.

New-England, Boston, 14th Sept. 1729.

DEAR SIR,

I had the favour of your agreeable letter by Mr. Drummond; our correspondence not being so frequent, please charge to my negligence but not to any fault of yours. Your communications of the Eclipses of Jupiter's moons observed at New-York, Anno Domini 1723 and 1729 are very acceptable; seeing no calculation can pretend to the exactness of observations, it may perhaps come nearer the truth, when the same Eclipse is observed at both places whose difference of longitude is required. (I mean it may be more exact than when we observe for one place and only calculate for the other) v. g. observe some Eclipses of the moon which also happen to be visible in London or Paris, then compare your observations in New-York with those of the same Eclipse as they come to be published in course (most all Eclipses of the Sun and Moon which are there visible are there published) in the Philosophical Transactions or Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris.

It is with pleasure I understand that you incline to oblige the World with a correct map of North-America. I am sorry that it is not in my power to contribute towards it by sending you a good map of the Provinces of New England; there is not one extant but what is intolerably and grossly erroneous. I have at times (with a design of learning the country) travelled the greatest part of our four Colonies of Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New-Hampshire, but cannot pre-

tend to reduce them to an exact plan ; I may however send you some hints which may enable you to make the maps far more exact than any hitherto published. When you have favored me (which I earnestly desire, as also the true boundaries of New-York Government in writing) with a copy of your map of New-York and the adjacent Indian countries I shall by that pattern be more capable of reducing my loose hints to some short intelligible method. In general, that you may not fall into the same mistake with former publishers, you are to observe that the lines or boundaries of our Provinces here at present are not exactly the same as laid down in the charters and grants but have been enlarged by consent ; as for instance the Massachusetts heads Rhode Island and Connecticut Governments by a due East and North-west line according to the charters ; this line by consent of Rhode Island is an East and West line without any variation allowed, and consequently to the prejudice of Rhode Island property, with Connecticut to some towns no variation allowed, to others nine degrees variation allowed so that it makes a sort of indented line. I presume the most natural easy and exact method of beginning a draught or map is by first laying down some certain fixed points accurately determined as to latitude and longitude, and the other principal parts laid down according to their exact distances and bearings from these invariable points will prevent any gross mistake. I know not what fixed points you may have collected for the Carolinas, Virginia, and Maryland ; Sir William Keith, I find by the Philosophical Transactions, has been at some pains to ascertain the latitude and longitude of Philadelphia ; New York is in your own observation. Boston is accurately fixed by the observations of Mr. Robie (a Fellow and sufficiently practised in observing) at Cambridge College which is about three and a half miles West Southerly from Boston ; Cambridge is in $42^{\circ} 29'$ North Latitude ; its longitude he has endeavoured to determine by sundry observations with a twenty-four foot telescope. I shall only trouble you with the most exact which was of an Eclipse of the moon on the fifteenth of March, 1707, which Eclipse happened also to be observed at Paris by Cassini and De la Hire ; by those

observations collated, Cambridge is $4^{\text{h}} 55' 50''$ West of Paris (subducting $9' 40''$ London's westing from Paris) and consequently $4^{\text{h}} 46' 10''$ from London; so that with sufficient exactness Boston may be fixed at $42^{\circ} 25'$ North latitude, and $4^{\text{h}} 45' 57''$ west from the meridian of London, that is in west longitude $71^{\circ} 29'$ circiter. Thus Boston is $12' 43''$ east from New-York or $3^{\circ} 10'$ difference of longitude, that is to say Boston is circiter 142 geographical miles east, and 105 of the same north of New-York; and the nearest distance about 180 geographical miles, or 207 English; the common post road by its turnings, via Providence, New London, and New Haven, to New-York, is 265 miles (as I computed in my progress), but the nearest, though less used road, is via Mendon, Woodstock, Hartford and New-Haven to New-York; 254 measured English miles.

As to other helps we have a very exact draught of our most considerable river Merimack as it was surveyed three years ago by order of our government; I may send you a copy of it from the records; by it you will have a very exact map of New-Hampshire government (for by this survey we are in hopes to swallow up that petty government according to the letter of our charter) and of about one quarter part of the Massachusetts. Rhode Island and Connecticut governments are small. When you have their outlines (which I can send you with great exactness) as settled some years ago by consent of the several Assemblies, there will be no great difficulty in placing the rivers and towns. I could procure from the Secretarie's office plans of our several towns as they were when first granted, but the subsequent assemblies have made such considerable alterations in dividing, dismembering, uniting, &c. that they will not answer your design; I can however from my own travels give you in general their situation with respect to one another and the considerable rivers, which may be sufficient for a general map. — Our station ships, Captain Durel, a very ingenious draughts man, in his several cruises has made a very exact sea line (with the makings and bearings of the land which are not in your way) of our coast from Boston Bay to Canso near Cape Breton; but as he designs to make a present of it at

home, it is not proper for me to desire a copy of it here. Judge Dudley has for some years been hammering out a map of this country, but I fancy it will not make its appearance yet awhile; he pretends to be a sort of virtuoso; therefore communicates nothing freely to a friend, lest he should be prevented in the reputation of being the author.

To conclude for this time, I wish I could with you sing *Deus nobis hæc otia fecit*; our labors in practice of Physic here are many and gains not much above a competency, and therefore cannot fall into sundry amusements which I could desire. — My duty to his Excellency Gov. Burnet, my humble service to Mr. Kennedy and all friends. I am

Your most humble servant

WIL. DOUGLASS.

Boston, February 17th, 173⁵₈.

DEAR SIR,

Your country retreat has for some time deprived me of the happiness of your correspondence. Lest peradventure you may be now in town, I could not omit this opportunity of saluting you, by the hands of my good friend Dr. Clark, in his way to Philadelphia. You may remember that some years ago you proposed the forming a sort of virtuoso society, or rather correspondence. We have lately in Boston formed a medical society, of which, this gentleman, a member thereof, can give you a particular account. We design from time to time to publish some short pieces; there is now ready for the press number one, with this title-page.

NUMBER ONE,
MEDICAL MEMOIRS

CONTAINING

1. A miscellany. Practical introduction.
2. A history of the dysentery epidemical in Boston in 1734.
3. Some account of a gutta-serena in a young woman.
4. The anatomical inspection of a spina vertosa in the vertebræ of the loins in a young man.

5. Some practical comments or remarks on the writings of Dr. Thomas Sydenham.

Published by a Medical-Society in Boston, New-England.

When published I 'll take care to transmit you a copy ; if you transmit to us anything serviceable in our design, we shall esteem it a great favour. My humble service to Mr. Kennedy and family. I am, Sir,

Your most humble servant

WIL. DOUGLASS.

CADWALLADER COLDEN, ESQ., *New-York.*

THE DUNSTER PAPERS.

[The originals of the following papers belonged to Henry Dunster, first President of Harvard College. The branch of the family in Pembroke, Massachusetts, having recently died out, they have come into the possession of Mr. Edward Swift Dunster, a member of the institution of which his ancestor was President, and he has kindly permitted them to be printed.

The first letter was copied by Rev. Samuel Sewall, of Burlington, Massachusetts, who is connected with the family by marriage, and his copy has since been compared with the original; and although a few words are obscurely written, it is confidently believed that an exact copy has been secured.

In the last volume of the Society's Collections, page 252, President Dunster in a letter to Ravius remarks, "*Ego enim Lancastrensis sum.*" In addition to the internal evidence furnished by the following letter, Mr. Sewall has obtained information from Lancashire men now resident in Massachusetts, that Balehault, sometimes called at the present day "Billy Holt," where this letter is dated, and where President Dunster was probably born, is in Lancashire; that it is not the name of an incorporated or publicly recognized town, but of a private gentleman's seat in Bury in that county.

Mr. Sewall remarks: "It is pleasant to observe the agreement of many political events and transactions mentioned in this letter, with the accounts given of the same in published accredited histories. But there are others referred to, which bear indubitable marks of the jealousy and prejudice with which every individual of the Court party in England was regarded at that day by the Puritans (excellent men as they generally were in most respects), and under the influence of which the actions and proceedings of the prominent men of that party were often misunderstood or unintentionally misrepresented. Who will believe at the present day, that the then Lord Deputy of Ireland (Strafford) conspired with the Papists, as here alleged, against his Protestant countrymen; or that the Bench of Bishops, among whom were such men as Joseph Hall of Norwich, meant at any time (as the author of this letter asserts) to take the life of Lord Say and Sele?" — Eds.]

I.

*Mr. Henry Dunster of Balehoulth, Lancashire, England,
to his Son, Rev. Mr. Henry Dunster, President of Har-
vard College, at Cambridge, New England.**

Grace mercy and peace bee multiplyed in Christ
Jesus vppon you Amen Kind and Louinge Sonns I
am very glad of your wellfare and good psperity I
haue receiued 4 letters from you since you Ariued in
new England the first dated the 17th of August by
Robte Haworth of Boulton the second dated the 21th
of August both w^{ch} came to my hands in seauen weekes
after you sent them the Redd wheat I receiued but
y^e Indian wampempegs weare lost out of your letter
the third was dated y^e 29th of 8^{ber} w^{ch} I receiued on
christms eue wth a letter of Richards inclosed in the same
the last dated the 12th of 8^{ber} w^{ch} I receiued of one
Millns that had beene wth you in new England who
lodged wth me about mid January but it seemes it should
haue come by Colier your Sisters remember their loues
vnto you both but you must not expect them so longe as
your mother and I do liue your brother Thomas re-
members his loue and hath sent you 2 dozen of Alma-
nacks but now he is a widdower for both wyffe and chyln
are deade since michaellms I pray god he take good
wayes I do not know of any that you sent for that
entend to come as yett Touchinge Richard I would
aduse him not to come over againe as yett for what soeuer
is his due shall bee left in the hands of his sisters for I
haue taken a generall aquitance of Robte so that Richard
and his sisters may haue what wee two ould folke leaue
and wee shall make no willfull wast now concerninge
our England since you went ouer wee haue beene sore
troubled for the Scotts came into Engand a month afore
michaellms and came to Tyne watter where some of our
Troupers laye the Scotts proffered to come ouer and our

* This letter was probably addressed to President Dunster, but was also intended for his brother Richard.

men wthstood them for a while but ours beinge but 500 weare not able to wthstand 30 Thousand but fledd amaine insomuch^m as one Cunstable a gentleman of a company cryed to his band Ryde theeues Ryde for your lyues and he himselfe for his pte Ridd so fast y^t he lost his capp and mist it not of rydinge two myles Then the Scotts came pedentim towards newcastle in some 203 [2 or 3?] dayes where y^e yealded the towne immediatly Then was England in a fright for the did not knowe what to doe but att last all the freehoulders and trayned bande weare caled together euery Hundred by itselfe and trayned for a fortnight together also all betwixt 16 and 60 weare caled together so that vpon the 8th of 7^{ber} beinge Bury fayre there was at Burye 40 Thousand wth such weapons as y^e could gett and those that had no better tooke euery one a great clubb and it was caled Club fayre att Burye and all the prouision for the fayre was eaten vpp that daye So that y^e 800 which trayned there weare scanted for a fortnight after of vituals the Buchers and Allewyues made a gayne of them Then great troupes of Souldiers weare sent into yorckeshire and it was thought that there would haue beene some Batayle speedely Butt the Lord turned all to peace and a Parliment was caled which began the third of 9^{ber} and the goe on very Joyffully god bee prayed for the same And the Scotts are to remoue from newcastle before the 25th of march and the must receiue 300 Thousand pounds to bringe them whome againe Now for our great men of England the most of them are proued traytors first lord deputy of Ireland and the Archbishopp of canterbury and the great Judges the rest of the Bishops are found in a premunire except the bishopp of Lincolne who is suffered to bee in the parliment house all the rest are Excluded finch y^e lord keeper is fledd wyndebanke the kings cheeffe secretary is fledd the Bishopp wrenn had thought to haue flownen but his wings weare to short All non conformists are ssuffered to preach and our Altars are some of them puld vpp Surplusses and communion books some torne the communion tabls brought downe into the bodye of the church: Burton and Preen are brought into the Parliment house wth great respect and weare mett out

of the citey wth 200 couches in triumphe so that y^e kinge did take it somewhat harshly and said so many did not meete him when he came from Yorke from quietinge the Scotts many petitions are p^fered into the Parliment against Idle dronken ministers and against double beneficed parson[s] and suite made that all Chappells shall be reliued out of church Liuings your sister Elizabeth is turned scribe and can do very well of 3 weeks tyme I pray you giue Richard good counsell and bee the meanes to trayne him vpp in goodnes and make much of each other for it repenteth mee very sore of my lyffe heretofore spent in Idle company and I thanke god hartelye that plunged my lyffe to see my erors and foly The ould Lady Ashton and M^r Rawsthorns heire dyed wthin 2 howers together vpon wednesday afore candlms and weare buried att burye both in one graue vpon the monday folowinge The papists had conspired wth y^e deputye of Ireland to sett fightinge in the north pts that y^e might haue begun in the south where the should haue had ayde out of Ireland and the spaniard laye watchinge vppon the seas likewise to haue Ayded them but the Holanders meetinge wth them gaue them a great shake and scattered them sore so that wee may well say that man purposseth but god disposseth my lord saye and my lord Brooke are sworne of the kings priuy Counsell whose lyves y^e byshops had ment to haue taken away not long since your ould freind doctor Cossins for his honesty is put in the cage to see if he can singe well or no All the monopolies for lycencesses are disanulled so that euery man may buye and sell att theire pleasure wthout controule we haue gotten ould M^r Horocks to bee lecturer att Burye euery thursday he begun afore christms and hath promised for a tweueluemoneth if god spare him health and abilitie M^r Ashton of Midleton is one of our knights for the Parliment who hath wth him for aduise and counsell your freind ould M^r Rathband who hath beene wth him since it began The Scotts assone as the came to new castle sange the 74th psalme: why art thou lord so longe from vs * &c many great men are thought to bee faulty as I writt

* Sternhold and Hopkins's version.

afore Thus committinge you bothe to the ptection of the
Allmighty I rest

Your louinge father

from Balehoulth this

HENRYE DUNSTER

20th of March 1640 [1640 - 1]

This letter comes

by London.

II.

Richard Saltonstall to President Dunster.

For the Reverend my very worthy freind M^r Dunster,
President of the Colledge at Cambridge New-England.

Worthily endeared S^r

Give mee leave to tell M^r President that I make noe
conscience of writing a very short letter to him; when I
want time as at this present I doe exceedingly; being
vpon a journey into Scotland by an invitation from my
Lord Generall; to some occasions there which are of a
civill nature.

This enclosed booke I must entreate you to accept in-
steade of such lines as I should have added.

What soever I have presented M^r Cotton with which
himselfe shall judge comunicable; I desire that yourselfe
may have the seacond sight of: Provided always that in
the seacond place you present this enclosed to M^r Cotton.

S^r If this little bee not somthing better then just
nothing I pray you lett mee vnderstand by your next.

My best respects to good M^{rs} Dunster.

I pray you tell worthy M^r Buckley that his sonn John
whome I saw lately knowing my occasions hath vnder-
taken to excuse my not writing to him at this time
Helpe him to what newes you can. & lett mee have your
prayers. I may truly tell you; you are written in my
Catalog with greate letters. Mercy & truth bee with you
& all yours.

Yours most vnfaignedly in all christean respects.

RICHARD SALTONSTALL.

[Memorandum, in President Dunster's handwriting, "M^r Saltonstalls
by M^r Sanders or M^r Greens Received about 15 of May 51 answered
by M^r Willoughby."]

III.

William Cutter to President Dunster.

ffor M^r Henry Dunster President off Haruert Colledge in
Cambridge these dd in New England.

Loueing S^r I know I am ingaged to write as often as I
can to yo'selfe and other ffreinds: butt the late warrs with
holland did much discourage vs when we heard w^t shippes
wer taken and losse not only off writeings [?] butt other
goods now it hath pleased the Lord to cause the hol-
landers to seeke peace and y^t seuerall tymes: no quest:
much against there hye spirritts: butt necessity hath no
law: seuerall diurnalls I haue sent to seuerall freinds w^{ch}
I dyrect to M^r Corlett: and some in ptic to yo'selff we are
here blessed with peace butt espetially with a Godly
magistracy & ministry 3 Independ 3 presbitter: I meane
att newcastle butt in the Countyes adioyneing: a sect
called quakers and others to popery doe much increase
rayleing much att the ministry and refuseing to sho any
reuerence to maiestrates we hope they wilbe confounded
& ashamed off there Tenetts: butt I could desire: thatt
some stricter course were taken then is: Now in June
next we are to chose a new parlyament & many Annabab-
tists hope that this present peace well not contineu: butt
most Godly & wisemen y^t I know are off another mynd:
the Rebells in Scotland doe contineu lurking in woods
and mountaines & boggs & dare scarce eu^r ingage: it
is hoped now since the peace concluded with holland y^t
this sumer will putt an end to these distractions: itt is
very like that y^e [] will haue much tradeing into NE [New
England] ere long ffor OE [Old England] neu^r was so
ffull off shiping as now: Itts reported y^t we haue taken
& sunk in all off the hollanders aboutt 2200 ships: & we
haue lost aboutt 800 in all: many good vessells being
sold for small rates: and therffor merchants are contri-
uing much how to trade into forraine pts: because the
Lord hath blessed th[is] natyon with such plenty thatt
this halfe yeare good wheatt is sould for eight shillings the

boule & cheaper too: often for 7^s: w^{ch} is 3 off yo^r Bush-ells it neu^r was knoune so cheape by most men liueing her: we hope y^e Lord will giue yo^u tymes off praise & reioyceing as yo^u haue had off prayer: we are to haue a day off Thanks giueing next week the inclosed will sho the reasons pray S^r comfort my deare and ancyent mother and aunt wilkenson, with my bre: & sisters: I often wish I could se them againe & yo^u all: butt it is not like ffor besides other hinderances: trully the sad discouragements in comeing by sea is enough to hinder: vnles it were as formerly: y^t we could not inioy the ordina^s of God I am sorry to heare lately y^t M^r hadden is to mary one off the daughters off a very great mallignant: and y^t he keeps so much socyety with them: he comes seldom hither your sone M^r John Glouer cald att our house as he went into Scotland to be ouer the hospitall with Coll fenwicks Bro: I hope he will proue honest: S^r I rest:

Yo^{rs} WLLM CUTTER.

Newcastle, May 19, 54.

IV.

Edward Roberts to President Dunster.

ffor his truely Esteemed ffreind M^r Dunstor; late Pro-
uost of the Colleage at Cambridge in New England
these

Honored Freind

I am wholly a stranger to you further then as to Report which hath spread it selfe to y^e rejoicing of many y^t feare y^e Lord, and hearing that your Porcon hath been to Suffer in some measure for y^e Crosse of Christ, my selfe and some other that trully Loue you on y^e ground aforesaid made it our Request to y^e Truly vertuous Lord Deputy to provide for you in this Land who readily embraced the same and ordered fifty pound for y^e bringing over yourselfe and family as you may see by a Copy of his Lorpps [Lordships] and

Councells inclosed, with Direccons for mee to send to you, which moneys I haue sent by Mr John Milam of Waterford once an Inhabitant of New England who is bound with a shipp to some parts of New England, and who will send to you and Contruie yo^r passadg, and advise you as to y^e state of this Countrey and y^e Christians amongst us. You need not feare Accomodacons here, though I hope that will not be your cheife motive but rather hono^r of y^e Lord and his great name. You may through mercy haue free Liberty of your Conscience; and opportunity of Assotiateing with Saints and free publishing y^e Ghospell of Truth which [is] greatly wanted amongst us there being but few able and painefull men who make y^e service of god theire worke. I pray be not discouraged att any thing you haue heard or shall heare of this place but consider y^e Providence of god who soe vnexpectedly as to you calls for your remoue. Paul did not in the like Case conferr with fflesh and Blood (hapily you may haue Lesse reason in some respect soe to doe) I desire you to haue a Care knoweing that there is a Crafty one that lyes in waite for to deceiue. I shall Add noe more but desire you to Consider that it is y^e duty of a Christian to be guided by y^e Call of god, and to be and doe what ever he shall require from you, by which Rule, I desire you to walke, and the god of mercy be your Councello^r herein and guide you in the way he would haue you to walke and that his presence may attend you to the perfecting your Race with Joy, and witnessing a good Confession before men, that soe in y^e end you may be perfected in the Joy and Glory of the Lord att his appearance, In whome I trust to be found

Yours and all Saints sincere freind & Seru^t

EDW ROBERTS

Dublin, 3d, 1655.

[Labelled, "Received 10th of July, 1656, from y^e hand of goodwife Price. y^e order of y^e counsel inclosed."]

V.

*Covenant between Edward Winshipp and Henry Dunster.**

These psents bearing date y^e 29th of May 1657 witness y^t Edward Winship of Wenatomy Yeoman hath coven^{ted} & aggreed to allow & make good seven akers of meddowland on y^e northern syde of y^e brook y^t runs through alwife meddow to Henry Dunster & his heirs for ever for y^t p^t of y^e sayd Henryes meddow y^t lyeth on y^e southern syde of y^e sayd brook over against it to y^e s^d Edward & his heirs for ever, & in case y^e sayd Edward canot finde seven akers there of meddow land for y^e sayd Henry y^t yⁿ y^e sayd Edward shall allow y^e sayd Henry two akers of upland for one of meddowland for all & every quantity of meddow wanting: & each pty ratifyeth this coven^t for them & their heirs for ever. witness their hands herunto subscribed wth mutual consent y^t this their covenant shalbee publicly recorded as occasion is given.

HENRY DUNSTER: EDWARD WINSHIPP

And its further aggreed y^t s^d Edward shall allow nine shillings annuall rent to y^e s^d Henry for y^e foresd meddow on y^e north syde of y^e brook for 7 years next ensuing. Witness his hand.

EDWARD WINSHIPP

In presence of

DAVID DUNSTER

FFRANCIS WHITMOR

* In President Dunster's handwriting. The paper is labelled "Edw Winships Covenant."

CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO A MEMOIR
OF THE HON. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

REV. GEORGE E. ELLIS: —

SIR, — I inclose a letter to the President and Members of the Massachusetts Historical Society, containing a request to be released from the obligation of publishing in their Collections the Memoir of the late John Quincy Adams, which I have in a course of preparation, on the conditions which I communicated to you recently in conversation.

I request that you would present this letter to the Society at their next meeting, and that a vote may be passed exonerating me, on the terms specified, from the obligations resulting from their vote and my engagement on the subject.

Respectfully yours,

JOSIAH QUINCY.

Boston, 10 April, 1854.

To the President and Members of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

GENTLEMEN, —

In March, 1848, I was requested by a vote of your Society to prepare for your Collections “a Memoir of our late member, the Hon. John Quincy Adams, deceased.” My engagements at that time did not permit me immediately to comply with your request, and my attention

was not again drawn to the subject until last autumn, when, at the solicitation of one of your Committee for Publication, the Rev. George E. Ellis, I engaged to have the required Memoir in readiness for your ensuing contemplated volume. My preparation is now such, that I can easily fulfil that engagement; but my labors have resulted in a conviction, that it is not possible for me to compress within the limits usually assigned in your publications for this class of writings, nor indeed within the compass of one of your entire volumes, such a memoir of Mr. Adams as his character, services, and relations to society demand; as what I have already written and the materials collected sufficiently evidence. Under these circumstances, I am induced to request, that you would release me from the necessity of complying with the terms of your vote, so far as relates to the publication of my Memoir in your Collections. If this favor be granted, and life and health be spared to me, I engage to prepare a more full Memoir of Mr. Adams than it is possible for me to include within the usual limits of one of your volumes, and put the work to, and, I hope, issue it from, the press, in the course of the present year. This work I will cause to be published in a style suitable to its character, and, after acknowledging that it had its origin in the vote of your Society, I will obtain the copyright, take upon myself the entire cost and risk of the publication, and secure, and scrupulously place all its proceeds, should there be any, at the disposal of your Society.

On these terms, I request to be released from the obligation your vote and my engagement on this subject have imposed upon me.

I am, gentlemen, very respectfully, your associate,

JOSIAH QUINCY.

Boston, 10 April, 1854.

Boston, 14 April, 1854.

HON. JOSIAH QUINCY, LL. D.:—

DEAR SIR, — At a meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, held yesterday, your communication of the 10th instant, addressed to the President and members, was presented by the Rev. George E. Ellis, chairman of the Publishing Committee, and the undersigned were appointed a committee to inform you of the views and votes of the Society in relation to the request which it contained.

We need not assure you that the Society had earnestly desired to have in their Collections a memoir of their late distinguished associate, John Quincy Adams, from your own pen. It was to have formed the leading article in the forthcoming volume.

The Society cannot fail to appreciate, however, the difficulty which you have so forcibly suggested, of compressing the details of a long and eventful life within the limits assigned to this class of papers in our Historical Collections. Nor have they felt at liberty, under all circumstances, to decline acceding to your request to be released from an obligation to themselves, which might interfere with a free and full performance of the labor of love which you have undertaken.

In signifying to you this release, they have desired us to express the grateful sense which is entertained by the Society of the very liberal offer which your communication contains, and also to assure you of the interest which the members of the Society will take, in common with all their fellow-citizens, in the completion of the proposed biography of so distinguished a son of Massachusetts.

We have the honor to be, dear Sir, very respectfully and truly, yours,

JOHN C. GRAY,	}	<i>Committee of the Massachusetts His- torical Society.</i>
GEORGE TICKNOR,		
ROBT. C. WINTHROP,		

MEMOIR OF THE LATE THOMAS L. WINTHROP;

PRESIDENT OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY, ETC.

THE character and condition of a community like ours are adapted most happily to develop and occupy every talent. At the same time they render useful, and hence conducive ultimately to the general welfare, the diversified positions of life. And the gentleman of leisure, if he have but the desire to be useful, can find a field wide enough for the full exercise of all his benevolence. Nay, on such the burden is likely to be heavy, in proportion as ability is apparent, and the disposition to employ it is not wanting. As a result, it has been made an object of founding and maintaining our Society, not only to notice scientific and literary productions, and preserve them; but also to keep in view the elements of a nation's prosperity, and to cherish and record those statistical exhibitions of them which are calculated to interest as well the man of business, the patriotic politician, the lover of his species and of their well-being, as the meditative and accomplished scholar.

Lieutenant-Governor WINTHROP was a gentleman of a class, if so it may be termed, qualified to attract and gratify the moral observer. A beautiful harmony and propriety of character and deportment distinguished him most favorably, drawing toward him the respect, esteem, and, in the latter periods of life, even the veneration of those who enjoyed the honor and pleasure of associating with him. No airs of the *parvenu*, no disproportionate eagerness of hobbyism, no overbearing positiveness and obstinacy of opinion, and no exclusive feelings, obtruded

themselves on such intercourse. But extending his liberal views over a large and variegated field of individual and social responsibilities, thoroughly known to him by personal observation and experience as well as abstract study, he displayed habitually the result of a cultivated understanding combined with the best feelings of the heart.

Contemplative and active life had both been opened before him, and in good measure tried. For, descended of one of the first of the New England families, — if not indeed the very first, — and which had been distinguished not in the first generation only, but subsequently also, he enjoyed the advantage of the best education the country afforded; although he adopted the profession of a merchant, and was in that character long and successfully occupied.

And here it may be noted, that a liberal education is by no means to be considered as lost, which too many seem disposed to think, because he who obtains it does not engage in one of “the three learned professions.” There are, indeed, those who are not anxious to obtain it for their sons, although it could be afforded them with ease. But would they reflect on the start it gives to the mental powers, — on the pleasure it communicates, the enlargement of the sphere of vision it produces, — rendering it easy, comparatively, to turn the attention, in after life, as circumstances may invite or require, to the various objects of human research and interest, and giving to the individual a taste for occupying liberally the leisure hours or moments which occur in the busiest life, and especially in its declining period, — such an opinion might well be abandoned.

It is not intended here to attempt a history of the family of WINTHROP. In addition to the fact, that, already, accounts have been given to the public in various volumes, and are familiar to almost every American reader, the limits assigned to the present article will not permit it. But it is necessary to say, that the immediate ancestry of our lamented President were inhabitants of the Connecticut territory. There his father was born, and there his great-great-grandfather, the eldest and much beloved

son of the venerated Governor of Massachusetts, acquired an extensive landed property, formed settlements, expended his labor and much of his fortune, and bequeathed to his posterity a noble inheritance. He is as justly regarded the founder of Saybrook, of the city of New London, and of Groton, as Governor of the State.

No well-informed inhabitant, indeed, of either Massachusetts or Connecticut can pronounce the name of WINTHROP with indifference. "It is," says Lord Bacon, "a reverend thing to see an ancient castle or building not in decay, or to see a fair timber tree sound and perfect; how much more to behold an ancient family which hath stood against the waves and weathers of time!"

Soon after the almost total destruction of the Pequot tribe, in 1637, JOHN WINTHROP the younger, eldest of the thirteen children of his honored and excellent father, procured a grant of Fisher's Island. The secure possession of this "gem of the Sound" was in time guaranteed to him and his heirs by the respective governments of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York. The patent of the Colony last named, in language recalling the feudal tenures of Europe, declares it to be "an entire enfranchised township, manor, and place of itself, in no wise subordinate or belonging unto or dependent upon, any riding, township, place, or jurisdiction whatever." "His house" on that island, observes the accomplished historian of New London, "was the first English residence in the Pequot country"; and she adds, with reference to the city itself, "He brought out the first company of settlers, laid out the plan of the new town, organized the municipal government, conciliated the neighboring Indians, and determined the bounds of the plantation."*

This gentleman, having married Martha, daughter of Thomas Fones, Esq., of London, February 8, 1631, had come to New England the same year. He had received every advantage of early and elaborate instruction afforded by the Universities of Cambridge and Dublin, at the latter of which he appears to have passed three years; and this was aided by extensive travel on the Continent, even

* History of New London, by Miss F. M. Caulkins, p. 39.

as far as Turkey, and free and full correspondence with men of science and literature, at home and abroad. His fine natural powers were thus highly cultivated; and, with an inquisitive, observing mind, he was eminently prepared to investigate a new country, and to avail himself and his associates of all its productions. Hence we find him engaged in the new settlement of Agawam, or Ipswich, soon after his arrival,* and there he resided until the death of his wife, May 14, 1634, encountering the necessary hardships and privations of such an undertaking with heroic courage as well as fortitude. The intercourse of paternal and filial regard between his venerated father and himself, apparent in the letters appended to the Hon. Dr. Savage's edition of the Governor's History, and in its admirable notes, is truly affecting, breathing as it does the genuine spirit of the Gospel.

In 1643, Mr. Winthrop returned from one of his frequent voyages to England with pecuniary means and men to commence iron-works, both a furnace and forge. It was done at Lynn, and appears also to have been done at Braintree. But he had previously been intrusted, for a year at least, with the enterprise of a settlement at Saybrook. This was in 1635,† for after the death of his wife, who left no children, he had spent some time in England, and married Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Read, Esq., of Wickford in Essex, whose widow appears to have married the celebrated Hugh Peter. He returned to this country in October. The activity of mind and body, the force of resolution, the enlargedness of view, and the success which attended his enterprises, all attract our regards, and exhibit him as an admirable leader in a colony.

The grant from Massachusetts, grounded on a claim of conquest, which was obtained by him in 1644, to settle "a plantation" in the Pequot country, was, during the next year, carried into execution; and on the 6th of May, 1646, New London is considered as founded. In the autumn of that year he removed his family thither; yet

* See Felt's History of Ipswich, at large.

† See Savage's Winthrop, I. 170, and Trumbull's Connecticut, quoted there. Also History of New London, p. 40.

we find him often at Boston, and when afterward he was elected Governor he made Hartford his place of residence, having obtained, on the restoration of Charles II., a charter uniting the two colonies of New Haven and Connecticut under one government, with what was then considered a liberal organization.

With all his cares and labors we find him intermingling philosophical speculations, and communicating with the Royal Society of London, of which he is also regarded as one of the founders. Fourteen years he was Governor, until, in 1676, during the distresses of Indian warfare, and while attending the business of the New England Confederation at Boston, he was seized with fever, and died on the 7th of April, having reached, on the 12th of the previous February, the age of 70. His remains were entombed with those of his father, in what is now called the Stone-Chapel burying-ground. His seven children survived him. His eulogy is forcibly but justly given by Dr. Savage, in calling him "the heir of all his father's talents, prudence, and virtues, with a superior share of human learning."

Two of his children were sons: FITZ-JOHN, who also became Governor of Connecticut, and WAIT-STILL, born at Boston, February 27, 1642, and who continued the line with which is our present concern. This gentleman, whose youth and early manhood were passed in Connecticut, until the death of his respected father, married Mary, daughter of the Hon. William Browne, of Salem. In 1675, a year of much anxiety in regard to the intentions of the Indians, issuing in the destructive war of King Philip, he and his father were appointed Commissioners of the United Colonies. The year after, the administration of Andros commenced in New England, after he had for a considerable time been at the head of affairs in New York. Under him, at the time when his tyrannical principles of government had not appeared, and his professions were at least plausible, both Mr. Winthrop and his elder brother accepted office, and became Councillors. The board to which they belonged was, as is supposed by Hutchinson,* a check, for a time, on his

* Their colleagues were *Dudley, Stoughton, Bulkeley*, and *Tyng*, of Massachusetts;

measures, which, in imitation of his sovereign, the infatuated James II., became more and more arbitrary. At length, when the jealousy of the people and their love of freedom were roused, and the Reverend Increase Mather had been deputed by some influential men to state their grievances to the new authorities at court, where the English Revolution had placed William of Nassau as king, a temporary government was formed. Bradstreet was constituted its President, although more than fourscore years old, and Wait Winthrop, as he was usually called, was made commander of the militia. This single circumstance fixes our estimate of his principles. It was in the spring of 1689.

Under the new charter of William and Mary, which was brought out in 1692, he was named of the Council. After this he became Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, and died November 7, 1717, leaving two children, JOHN and ANN. He had been a widower from the 14th of June, 1690.

JOHN WINTHROP, the only son of Wait-Still, was born in New London, August 26, 1681. He was entered of Harvard College, and there received his first degree in 1700, his name appearing first in his class, as did that of his kinsman, Adam, in 1668.* The literary taste of this gentleman greatly resembled that of his distinguished grandfather, and he was elected a member of the Royal Society. To him was dedicated the fortieth volume of its Transactions, in which the editor, Dr. Cromwell Mortimer, alludes in the most respectful terms to that grandfather, and renders his thanks to the grandson for his devotion to the cause of science, and munificent remembrance of the Royal Society, in presenting them "more than six hundred curious specimens, chiefly in the mineral kingdom, with an accurate account of each particular,"—"intimating to England the vast riches which lie hidden in the lap of her principal daughter." It is not

Hinckley, Bradford, Lothrop, and Walley, of Plymouth; Coggeshall, Usher, and Wharton, of New Hampshire; Arnold, Clark, Newbury, and Smith, of Narragansett. Connecticut, it is remarked, does not seem included in the actual government of Andros, although he is commissioned over New England. Hist. Mass. I. 357, &c.

* Grandfather of the celebrated Professor Winthrop of Harvard College, who was graduated in 1732.

wonderful, that, recording these praises, and exhibiting successively his notices of the family of Winthrop, the learned yet modest and moderate Dr. Eliot (whom the writer can never name without sincere expressions of esteem and gratitude, as a patron of his early studies) should add to his account of the first Governor this sentence: "Several of his posterity have exhibited the image of their illustrious ancestor, and his family have been more eminent for their talents, learning, and honors than any other in New England."

Mr. John Winthrop married Ann, daughter of Governor Joseph Dudley. They had seven children, two of whom were sons, JOHN-STILL, who continued the line, and BASIL, the latter dying unmarried. On the death of Mr. John Winthrop's father, a difficulty arose respecting the division of property between himself and his sister, the only heirs. The sister, named above, had married Thomas Lechmere, Esq., Surveyor of the Customs in Boston, and brother of Nicholas, who was ennobled, August 25th, 1721, by the title of Baron Lechmere of Evesham in the county of Worcester, but who died in 1727, without issue. The difficulty was of no small importance on a general view, and occasioned considerable agitation in the country. For, according to the English system of entailing real estate on a son as heir, and the eldest, where there are more than one, it had been the intention of Wait-Still Winthrop, and of his elder brother, Fitz-John, the Governor, who had held their father's landed property* without division, to continue this system of descent, and keep the land entire; since Fitz-John had only a daughter, married to Colonel John Livingston, and, as this lady was destitute of children,

* It is thus described in the History of New London:—"Winthrop's farm embraced a tract about three miles in length from north to south, averaging, perhaps, a mile in breadth. On the south it was washed by the Sound, and intersected by inlets of salt water. In this compass were all the varieties of forest and meadow, arable land, pasture, and salt marsh, which are useful to the farmer, and pleasing to the eye of taste. It lay also in an opposite position to Winthrop's island farm, so that the owner of these two noble domains could look over Fisher's Island Sound, from either side, and rest his eye on his own fair possessions.

"Winthrop's grant on the east bank of the river was 'right against the sandy point of his own home lot, the length eight score pole and the breadth eight score pole'; that is, on Groton bank, opposite the eastern spur of Winthrop's Neck."—p. 61.

had intended, as appears, to make his nephew heir. But Mr. Lechmere sued for an equal division of the whole property. To this the Connecticut courts acceded, and gave judgment accordingly; but the brother appealed, and carried the cause before the King in Council. A decision was obtained in his favor, "declaring him the sole heir of all the landed estate of his father and uncle; but such exertions were made, that, at length, although Mr. Winthrop had gained his suit, the English law of primogeniture was not enforced on Connecticut.*

The feelings excited on this occasion, and which are mentioned in the "Dedication" alluded to, seem to have alienated the mind of Mr. Winthrop from his fellow-subjects in America, for he took up his residence in England for more than twenty years, and never returned, dying at Sydenham in Kent, August 1, 1747.

JOHN-STILL WINTHROP was born at New London, January 15, 1720, and graduated at Yale College in 1737. Four years after this he joined his father in England, and continued with him until his death. The family, however, had not left New London. Not long after his return, on the 4th of September, 1750, he married Jane, only daughter of Francis Borland, of Boston. Of this marriage he had JOHN, who was graduated at Harvard College in 1770,† but died in 1780; also JANE; FRANCIS BAYARD, who died at New York, leaving four sons and three daughters; ANN, who married the late David Sears, Esq., of Boston, and was mother of our respected fellow-laborer, the Hon. David Sears; WILLIAM, of New York; JOSEPH, of Charleston, S. C.; MARY; and THOMAS LINDALL. By a second wife, daughter of William Sheriff, a British field-officer, he had six children; of whom were BENJAMIN, of New York, ROBERT, an admiral in the

* Trumbull's Connecticut, II. 54-57. See also History of New London, pp. 412, 413. It is interesting to follow the descent of our American families when transferred to foreign countries, more especially to the land of their "fathers' sepulchres." Mary, second daughter of Richard Lechmere, son of Thomas and of Ann Winthrop, his wife, married in England James Russell, Esq., a brother of the Hon. Thomas Russell, of Boston, and was mother of the late Major-General Lechmere Graves Coore Russell, of Ashford Hall, near Ludlow, Shropshire; whose eight children are named by Burke in his "Dictionary of Landed Gentry." The family of Lechmere, of Hanley Castle, was of high antiquity.

† In the class of which Hon. William Winthrop was also a member, one of the four sons whom Professor Winthrop educated at Harvard.

British navy, and Mrs. SEBOR, of Middletown, Connecticut. He died at New London on the 6th of June, 1776.

THOMAS LINDALL WINTHROP, LL. D., his youngest son of the first marriage, was born at New London, March 6, 1760. He entered Yale College in 1776, having been prepared under the instruction of Mr. Tisdale of Lebanon, whose reputation was high for classical literature. Dr. Daggett had resigned the presidency, to which the eminently learned Dr. Stiles was elected. Under him Mr. Winthrop studied the Hebrew language, which, as we gather from his "Life," the President had gained principally from a Jewish Rabbi at Newport. But he left Yale at the close of the Sophomore year with an honorable dismissal, and entered Harvard College, at which he took his first degree in 1780, after distinguishing himself as became his family. At this period his health was very low, compelling him to journey for its restoration. Having spent a short time in Philadelphia, then the seat of the American government, and seeing several of the Southern States, he enjoyed, though still feeble, the great advantage of foreign travel; an advantage peculiarly desirable for its effects on the mind and habits of the well-educated man. Indeed, it may justly be considered a part of education itself. For it may improve the taste, as it exhibits the masterpieces of art and labor; and, while it engages agreeably the attention by the attractions of novelty, may suggest improvements, ripen designs of usefulness, produce habits of comparison, and prove an almost exhaustless fund for the entertainment of subsequent life. Yet his experience abroad was trying. The Revolutionary struggle with Great Britain was at its height. Mr. Winthrop embarked for Amsterdam, sailing from Nantucket. But the vessel was captured, and carried to England. He was permitted, however, by Admiral Duckworth, to visit London and some of the interior counties. Then he passed over to the Continent, and travelled in France, Flanders, and Holland, returning to America in a ship commanded by Captain (afterwards Commodore) Truxton.

Several of his fellow-passengers on the return voyage were of an interesting character. Count Benyowski, a

Polish general, and Commodore Manly, who had been taken prisoner in 1777, and suffered a long and rigorous confinement at Halifax, and had afterwards commanded an American frigate, were, with not a few officers of privateers, who had been captured by British vessels of war, of the number.

Mr. Winthrop's commercial transactions, which at length became very extensive, were commenced soon after his return from Europe, in connection, at first, with an elder brother, settled in South Carolina. He therefore resided at Charleston for a considerable period, and afterward removed to Boston; where for many years he was engaged in mercantile pursuits, with indefatigable industry, energy, and prudence.

On the 25th of July, 1786, Mr. Winthrop married the eldest daughter of Sir John Temple, Baronet, Elizabeth Bowdoin Temple, granddaughter of James Bowdoin, at that time Governor of Massachusetts, and by him adopted and brought up from childhood. Her father resided at New York, as Consul General of Great Britain in the United States. Seven sons and seven daughters were the fruit of this marriage: — 1. ELIZABETH BOWDOIN TEMPLE, who became the wife of the Rev. Benjamin Tappan, D.D., of Augusta, Maine, one of whose sons is minister of the "Winthrop Church," in Charlestown, Massachusetts. 2. SARAH BOWDOIN, who married George Sullivan, Esq., originally of Boston, now of New York. 3. THOMAS LINDALL, junior, who was graduated at Harvard College in 1807, and died in 1812. 4. AUGUSTA TEMPLE, died young. 5. AUGUSTA TEMPLE 2d, married Dr. John Smith Rogers, of New York, and died at Hartford, December 7, 1828. 6. JAMES BOWDOIN, who was educated at Bowdoin College, Maine, where he was graduated in 1814, became an efficient and highly esteemed member of our Society, was a fellow also of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and died deeply lamented at Havana, March 6, 1833. 7. JOHN TEMPLE, who died at Valparaiso, South America, in 1843. 8. FRANCIS WILLIAM, died young. 9. FRANCIS WILLIAM 2d, a graduate of Harvard College of the year 1817, but who died in two years after, having commenced the study of theology. 10. JANE, died un-

married, in Boston, 1819. 11. ANNE, who became the second wife of Dr. John C. Warren, and died December 16, 1850. 12. GEORGE EDWARD, a graduate of Harvard College in 1825, still living. 13. GRANVILLE TEMPLE, a graduate of Bowdoin College in 1827, attorney at law, and for a time Captain of the Cadets of Boston, with the rank of Colonel, but who died in 1852. 14. ROBERT CHARLES, LL. D., who was graduated at Cambridge in 1828, attorney at law, Representative in Congress for Suffolk and for a time Speaker of the House, a Senator also of the United States for Massachusetts, Fellow of the American Academy, one of the Overseers of the University at Cambridge, and an honored and beloved member of our Society, in whom his distinguished family *avito virescit honore*, and whose published speeches and addresses, we doubt not, will perpetuate his well-earned reputation.

Mr. Winthrop's excellent lady, the mother of so large a family, died greatly lamented, July 23, 1825. He never re-married.

Our venerated President, after retiring from active commercial pursuits, which had been rendered, it is believed, successful, retained, notwithstanding, an intimate relation to men of business, as holding for many years the first office of one of the banks. He presided also over the Massachusetts Agricultural Society, formed to encourage husbandry by rewards, exhibitions, and experiments, and took great pleasure in promoting its interests, which commend themselves to gentlemen of leisure, education, wealth, and patriotism. For six and thirty years he was a trustee, and his presidency included the last ten years of his life.

Of the first bank instituted for "Savings," thus to encourage frugality and foresight, as well as industry, among the less favored classes of the community, he was a Trustee and Vice-President, and zealously promoted its influence in these offices during twenty years. From 1828 to 1841 he was an Overseer of the University at Cambridge, and at the time of his death senior member of the Board of Visitors. The office of Lieutenant-Governor of the Commonwealth he held for seven years, by annual election of the people, from 1826 to 1832, inclusively.

In the presidency of the Massachusetts Historical Society he succeeded Judge Davis in 1835 ; and was ever punctually and faithfully devoted to its interests, even to the close of life. He was likewise President of the American Antiquarian Society, an institution of similar character, whose location is fixed in the centre of the State, and whose purview extends, as its name indicates, to the whole country. This Society he aided by his benefactions as well as influence. It was founded partially on the idea of safety for valuable documents, by having an additional depository for them, removed from a crowded city on the seaboard exposed to fire and invasion, — the latter of which was so destructive to the precious collection of Prince.

He sustained also the office of Treasurer of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences for a series of years. The American Philosophical Society elected him a member, as did the American Statistical Association, and the Historical Societies of Pennsylvania, New York, Maine, Indiana, Georgia, and the Universal Statistical Society of France ; of the last named he was an honorary President.*

The interest he was known to take in matters which concern the public welfare, from the education of the young in the earliest branches of instruction to the momentous affairs of nations, caused him to be selected by the city of Boston as one of the committee for establishing primary schools, and for three years he was its chairman. The Academy of Industry, Manufactures, and Agriculture of Paris elected him a member, as did the Royal Society of Agriculture of Florence. He was likewise a member and patron of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries of Copenhagen, whose labors have illustrated the early voyages to our coasts, and the Archæological Society of Athens chose him one of their associates.

With so many honors clustering around him, and such varied and interesting connections with his fellow-men, at home and abroad, it may well be supposed that advancing age would be greatly cheered and comforted, as well as occupied in a liberal pursuit of general information ; and

* See the Quarterly Register of the American Education Society, Vol. XIII. pp. 386 - 391.

that the intercourse with men of similar taste and pursuits would be pleasing and improving. Such were, in fact, the occupations of his venerated old age, such the elegant hospitality of his house, and such his course of reading and general remark and inquiry, that he seemed not so much to grow old as to become more and more a receptacle of the best knowledge of former and present times. His respect for religion and for its institutions and ministers, his relish for literary intercourse, and his patriotic interest in all that concerned our beloved country, never forsook him.

Milton beautifully describes a privilege of literary age, in that it may "at convenient times, for memory's sake, retire back into the middle ward, and sometimes into the rear," of what has been read, "until one has confirmed and solidly united the whole body of his perfected knowledge, like the last embattelling of a Roman legion." * Such seemed the ripened acquisitions of our respected President; and although but few, if any, printed or written documents remain, which might serve as annals to perpetuate the knowledge of his life, it is a consolation to believe, that his honored memory will long survive in the bosoms of our members, as in his own family, his immediate relatives, and his associates of every class.

W. J.

* Tractate of Education.

MEMORIALS OF THE WHITES.

[The following memoranda, relating to two individuals connected, influentially, with the settlement of the Massachusetts Colony, were prepared by Mr. Lemuel Shattuck, and read by him before the Massachusetts Historical Society, at their meeting October 31, 1850; and as the article contains some facts not generally known, or not easily accessible, we publish it as a valuable contribution to our Collections.]

REV. JOHN WHITE,* known as the *Patriarch of Dorchester*, was born at Stanton St. John, in Oxfordshire, where he was baptized the 6th of January, 1575. John White, his father, was descended, in the line of a younger brother, from one of the noble families in Hampshire. His mother was Isabel, daughter of John Rawle, of Litchfield. Josiah White, an elder brother, was minister of Horn church, in Essex, whose son, James, was a wealthy merchant, and died in Boston, leaving a will, which is recorded in the Suffolk records (Vol. I. p. 502). After being fitted for college, or "educated in grammar learning," at the Winchester School, John White was admitted a fellow of New College, at Oxford, in 1595, where he took his first degree of A. B. in 1597, and his second degree of A. M. in 1600. He afterwards received holy orders, and became a great preacher of the Puritan principles. In 1606, he went to Dorchester, county of Dorset, and became rector of Trinity parish. After the settlement of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, and about the year 1624, he, with some of

* Authorities: —Wood's *Athen. Oxon.* (Bliss's ed.), Vol. II. pp. 117, 350; Vol. III. pp. 160, 236; Fuller's *Worthies*, Vol. III. p. 24; Brooks's *Lives of the Puritans*; Chalmers's *Biographical Dictionary*, Vol. XXXI. p. 404; *Non-Conformist Memorial*, Vol. II. p. 145; Original MS. Memoranda.

his friends, projected the new Colony of Massachusetts. The object was to provide a settlement or an asylum for those who could not conform to the church discipline and ceremonies. The project met with many difficulties, which had to be surmounted before the patent was finally obtained. By his personal intercourse, his advice, his preaching, his writings, and his great influence, Mr. White gave essential aid to the "Company of Adventurers," in securing the result of their labors. He frequently attended the meetings of the company, and advised many of his friends and neighbors to join them for the purpose of emigration. On the day of their departure, he preached on board the Arbella. The active part he took in favor of the Puritans gained him notoriety, and excited the displeasure of the opposing party, during the civil wars which followed. A marauding party of horsemen, under command of Prince Rupert, went to Dorchester in 1642, plundered his house, and carried away his library. On this occasion he made his escape to London, and was there appointed minister of Savoy parish, and on the 30th of September, 1643, rector of Lambeth parish, in Surry. In 1640, he was appointed one of the learned ministers to assist the Parliamentary committee on religion. He was also chosen one of the divines which met at Westminster on the 1st of July, 1643; and was appointed, with Rev. Cornelius Burgess, his brother-in-law, assistant chairman of that venerable assembly. In 1647, he was offered the wardenship of the New College, but refused it; and, as soon as he could, returned to his people at Dorchester, for whom he had the greatest affection, and where he passed the happiest of his days. He died there, suddenly, July 21, 1648, in his seventy-fourth year, and was interred in the church porch of St. Peter, in Dorchester, which is a chapel belonging to Trinity Church.

Fuller says he was "a grave man, yet without moroseness, as who would willingly contribute his shot of facetiousness on any just occasion; a good governor, by whose wisdom the town of Dorchester (notwithstanding a casual, merciless fire) was much enriched; knowledge causing piety, piety breeding industry, and industry procuring plenty unto it. A beggar was not then to be seen in the

town, all able poor being set on work, and the impotent maintained. He absolutely commanded his own passions, and the purses of his parishioners, whom he could wind up to what height he pleased on important occasions. He was free from covetousness, if not trespassing on the contrary, and had a patriarchal influence both in Old and New England." Wood calls him a moderate Puritan, of great gravity and presence, one of the most attentive and influential members of the Westminster Assembly. "The Puritan party, near to and remote from him, bore him more respect than they did their own diocesan." In the course of his ministry at Dorchester, "he expounded the Scriptures all over and half over again, having had an excellent faculty in the clear and solid interpreting of it."

He was the author of the "Planter's Plea," or "Breef Relation." The authorship of the "Humble Address" has also been attributed to him. His other principal printed works were, 1. Commentary on the First Chapter of Genesis; 2. Directions for the Profitable Reading of the Scriptures; 3. Of the Sabbath; 4. The Way of the Tree of Life, or the Duties of Perfection; 5. Several Occasional Sermons.

Mr. White married Ann, daughter of John Burgess, of Peterborough, and sister of Rev. Cornelius Burgess, one of the famous Puritan divines. By her he had four sons, John, Samuel, Josiah, and Nathaniel. The eldest was minister in Paupan, in Dorchester, and among those who were ejected for their non-conformity, in 1662.

JOHN WHITE, ESQ.,* commonly entitled "*the Counselor*," was the son of Henry White, and was born in Heylan, Pembrokeshire, on the 29th of June, 1590. After completing his preparatory studies, or, as his historian has it, "after he had been instructed in the faculty of grammar," he was entered by his elder brother, Griffith White, a member of Jesus College, at Oxford, in 1607. He re-

* Authorities: — Wood's Athen. Oxon. (Bliss's ed.), Vol. II. p. 236; Vol. III. pp. 105, 143, 144; Neal's History of the Puritans, Vol. III. pp. 51, 52, 56, 76, 275; Clarendon's Hist. Rebellion; Brooks's Lives of the Puritans; Young's Chronicles, pp. 69, 74, 86, 101, 102; "The First Century," &c. (a copy of which is in the library of Harvard University); Original MS. Memoranda. — Watts's Bibliotheca mentions two John Whites, "counsellors," but they are evidently the same individual.

mained at college about four years, and afterwards studied law and became a barrister and counsellor of eminence, and one of the masters of the bench in the Middle Temple. He embraced the principles of the Puritans in early life, and during his professional career was their principal legal adviser. *The first charter of the Massachusetts Colony was probably procured under his advice, and written by him.* His name appears among the members of the Company, at their meetings before their embarkation for this country. In October, 1629, he drew up the articles agreed upon "between the Planters and Adventurers for the performance of what shall be determined"; and he was chosen one of the umpires to settle any disagreements that might arise. He did not emigrate to this country; but many of his friends and connections who did come were advised and assisted by him. He was chosen a member, from the borough of Southwark, of the Parliament which began November 3, 1640; and in this, as in other spheres, he was a leading and influential, but zealous, member of the Puritan party. He was also one of the twenty commissioners chosen as "*Lay-Assessors*" of the Westminster Assembly of Divines.

A general complaint existed at that time against the conduct and superstitions of the members of the Established Church, who held their benefices under the government; and the House of Commons appointed, on the 6th of November, 1640, very soon after its organization, a large "Committee on Religion," to inquire into their scandalous immoralities. Mr. White was chairman of this committee, and also of the sub-committee, appointed on the 19th of the same month, "to consider how there may be *preaching* ministers set up where there are none, how they may be maintained where there is no maintenance, and all other things of that nature; also to inquire into the grounds and causes of the great scarcity of preaching ministers throughout the kingdom; and to consider of some way of removing scandalous ministers, and putting others in their places." Numerous petitions relating to these subjects were presented to Parliament and referred to these committees. The benefices of several of the clergy were sequestered and given to others. These proceedings excited,

as they would naturally do, great opposition. By some they were considered severe, and were highly censured, especially by the suffering party. It should be borne in mind, however, that party spirit at that time raged in its highest activity, amounting in some cases to open rebellion, civil war, and bloodshed ; and what one party might censure was by the other demanded as a right. To justify their proceedings, a report of one hundred cases — or a “century” — of the ejected ministers was made by Mr. White, and, on the 17th of November, 1643, ordered to be printed. It appeared under the title, “The First Century of scandalous malignant Priests, made and admitted into Benefices by the Prelate, in whose Hands the Ordination of Ministers and Government had been ; or a Narration of the Causes for which Parliament has ordered the Sequestration of the Benefices of several Ministers complained of before them, for Vitiousness of Life, Errors in Doctrine, contrary to the Articles of our Religion, and for practising and pressing superstitious Innovations against Law, and for Malignancy against Parliament.” The author, in his preface, says the reasons of his appearing in print were “that the Parliament might appear just in their doings ; that the mouth of iniquity might be stopped ; that all the world might see that the tongues of them that speak evil of the Parliament are set on fire of hell ; and that they hide themselves under falsehood and make lies their refuge” ; and then he adds, that “the grossest faults which were charged on the clergy were proved by many witnesses, seldom less than six.”

The publication of this account of the “*First Century*” or hundred of the “scandalous priests” whom he selected for notice, greatly increased the excitement, and drew down upon Mr. White the most violent opposition. A *second century* was prepared for publication, but, on account of Mr. White’s death, fourteen months after the first came out, or for some other cause, it never appeared. He was reproached, and nicknamed “*Century White*.” Wood, and others belonging to the party of his opposers, have accumulated against him much of the party scandal of the times ; but their censure must be considered as unjust by every candid mind. “The obnoxious part he acted would

naturally create many enemies, some of whom would invent, and others eagerly credit, the most reproachful calumnies against him." The slanders of his enemies cannot, however, cover up the noble deeds of this excellent man. The proceedings of his committee may be viewed, separated from contemporary events, as severe, but they tended greatly to hasten the reformation and the overthrow of the Established Church, though some innocent persons may have suffered in the general wreck. He has been styled "a grave lawyer, and an honest, learned, and faithful servant of the people, and a useful member of the House of Commons." To him the founders of the Massachusetts Colony and their descendants are greatly indebted, and they should ever gratefully cherish his memory.

Mr. White died in London, on the 29th of January, 1645, aged 54 years and 7 months; and was buried, with great funeral solemnities, in the church belonging to the Temple, "at the high altar, on the Middle Temple side, close to the end where the altar stood." The members of Parliament, in a body, accompanied his remains to the grave. A marble slab was placed over his body, on which was inscribed:—

"Here lyeth a *John*, a burning, shining light,
His name, life, actions, were all *White*."

THE LEVERETT PAPERS.

I.

1655.

Account currant the CommonWealth of England is Dr

10 March 55	To several summes pd. as appears before, nine thousand two hundred ninety three Pounds two shil- lings and eleven pence	£ 9293 2 11
To severall mis casts & errors found as appears folio 27, found upon Examina- tion		70 6 11
To £ 30 for the use of my warehouse & man's labour		30
To my Sallery from y ^e 3 ^d Febr ^y 1653 to March 55 at 20s. pr diem		758
		£ 10151 9 10

Acco^t Currant of the CommonWealth of England Cr.

By severall recytes of goods & by charge upon the Treasurer of the Navy five thousand four hundred and five Pounds two shillings and tenn pence	£ 5405 2 10
fol. 27 By severall Errors & mistakes found in Examination 10 March 55	£ 3 19 7
By so much to Ball ^a this acco ^t due unto me John Leverett	£ 4742 7 5
	£ 10151 9 10

By this acco^t the CommonWealth of England is D^r unto me four thousand seven hundred fortytwo Pounds seaven Shillings & five pence; but Defaulke Sixtynine Pounds, one Shilling & six pence & there Rest four thousand six hundred Seaventy three Pounds five Shillings & eleven pence which they owe unto me, & have the Acco^t dd: then attested by my oath of which ye Committee of his Highness Councill took of from my Sallery five Shillings pr diem & then Rested butt four thousand four hundred Eighty two Pounds three Shillings 11½*d.* for which I Recd his Highness the Lord Protectors Privy Seale bears date 28 July 1656 posted into my Leager Letter A folio 3.

II.

To the Kinges Most Excellent Ma^{ties}

The humble petition of John Leverett Sheweth That your pet^r upon the takeing of severall fforts from the French in Nova Scotia and coast of Accadie in America was left to command and keepe them in the yeare 1654, in w^{ch} service your pet^r for the payment of Souldiers & Seamen runn out his Estate & credit to severall Thousands of Pounds, for which in the yeares 1656 & 1658 upon the Auditeing of his Accompts rec^d Two Privie Seales for Payment out of the Exchequer, of which sumes there remaine due unto him £ 3799 7*s.* 4*d.* whereby your pet^r hath ben diverted in the way of his calling & occasioned to remove his habitation to the allmost ruineing of him and his family.

And for as much as the moneyes were expended for the Takeing of a country which is an Addition to your Ma^{ties} Dominions and by ymprovement may at present be some Addition of Revennue, and for future may increase

Wherefore your pet^r doth humbly pray yo^r Maj^{ties} Gracious favour in affordeing him releife either by your Royall Gracious Order for the money due, or by granting to him the said Country for Terme of yeares, or such part thereof to him & his heires forever as may be a just com-

penſation for his diſbuſments. And for the better ſatisfaccon of your Maj^{tie} in the Juſtice and Equitie of your pet^{rs} deſires; he doth farther pray, that your Ma^{tie} will pleaſe to referr the conſideration of your pet^{rs} caſe to the Rt. Hono^{ble} Com^{tee} of your Ma^{ties} privie Councell, to whome the conſideration of the buſines of Nova Scotia is referred, or to whome yo^r Ma^{tie} ſhall in yo^r Royal Wiſdome ſee meete.

And your petitioner ſhall pray &c.

III.

To Our Truſty and Welbeloved S^r John Leverett Kn^t
Governour of Maſſachuſetts bay in new England.

Charles R.

Truſty & welbeloved, wee greet you well. Whereas wee have been humbly informed by the peticon of John Wampas *als* White, that he was about ſix months ſince put into priſon here for a ſmall debt, where he hath ſince remained to his utter ruine, & that he hath a certain parcell of land in Maſſachuſetts bay, the which he hath held for many years, having taken the oaths of Allegiance & Supremacy as our ſubject, and having humbly beſought us to interpoſe with you, that he may bee reſtored to his ſ^d lands, or have liberty to ſell the ſame for his preſent reliefe and the payment of his debts; wee taking into our gracious conſideration the miſerable condition of the pet^r have thought fitt to recomend him to you, that he may have Juſtice done him & what favour the matter will fairly beare. And ſoe wee bid you farewell. Given att our Court att Whitehall the 22th day of Auguſt 1676 in the 28th yeare of our reigne

By his Ma^{ties} comand.

WILLIAMSON.

[Labelled, "Received 2 Jan. 1677."]

IV.

Robert Atkyn to John Leverett.

To his much honor'd freind Major Genrall John Leverett
of Boston in New England These.

Worthy S^r

My respected freind & ould acquaintance & schoole fellow. &c. I am very hartily joyfull. to heare of you. and from you. & that God is pleased to lengthen out yo^r dayes to stand vp in the roome of good old Xtians gone into another better habitation I hope it is for best good both to yo^r selfe & to the place you are in, we here are full of loosenes & prophanes debauchery & what not cryinge Synns. aboundinge & little restraint the mouths. of good men. restrained chariotts & horsemen laide aside malligned & dispised for the good they haue done or would continue to doe lycentiousnes much more pleasing to y^e Generality of people then a strict holy course of Liveinge I doe not question but greatly hope but yo^r acquaintance wth God is much & that yo^r Lives is very holy & pleasing to him, I suppose you may haue heard of the death of Docter Tuckney sometime of o^r toune wth Mr. Cotton but blessed be God we haue good teachinge had we hearts to make a right improovem^t by holy meditation and practis I have inclosed sent a regester of all yo^r fathers children the Clerke thinkes he has omitted none, there is one Mr Thomas Vnderwood sometimes wollen drap^r in London, who I think lives in Boston. & hes beene there 10 or 12 yeares that marryed old M^r Tilsons daughter one of them but she is dead & since he went to New England hes marryed againe I would desire the favo^r of you to convey this inclosed lre to him & soe desiring frō my heart if God bestow place of cheife or cheifest trust vpon yo^w consider yo^w rule not for man but for y^e lord who wilbe wth you & assist you & its the reall desire of him that he may soe be. who wth his true respects to you subscribes himselfe.

Yo^r cordiall freind & humble servant

ROBERT: ATKYN.

Boston. March 18th. 1672.

I opened this to take a copping which I sent yo^w sometime since least the originall should miscarry.

[Labelled, "Register of Mr Tho Leveret of Boston in the County of Lincoln his Children from Aug 1612 to 1632 booked by the Register."
"frō Mr Atkyns of Boston wth register."]

V.

March 18 1672

A True copping of the regester of the Borough of Boston in the county of Lincoln to certify whom it may concern.

John y^e Son of M^r Thomas Leveret was babtized the 16 day of Awgust 1612.

Jaine y^e Daughter of M^r Tho: Leveret was babtized Awgust y^e 9 1613

Jaine y^e Daughter of the same was babtized December y^e 6 1614

John y^e Son of the same babtized July 7 1616

Thomas y^e Son of the same babtized July 30: 1618

Ann y^e Daughter of y^e same babtized January 8: 1619

James y^e sonne of y^e same babtized June 28 1621

Sarah y^e Daughter of y^e same babtized Septemb^r 26: 1622

Mary y^e Daughter of y^e same babtized Feb: 5: 1623

Jabes y^e Son of y^e same babtized Septemb^r 6: 1627

Iserel y^e Son of y^e same babtized Septemb^r 25: 1628

Elisha y^e Son of y^e same babtized July 3: 1630

Nathaniel y^e Son of y^e same babtized April 12: 1632

Witnes DAN: JENKINSON.

[Labelled, "M^r Ro: Atkin." "Register of y^e baptisms of y^e Children of Th^s Leverett father of Jno. Gov. Leverett."]

DETAIL OF THE PATENT OF BEAUCHAMP AND LEVERETT.

1629, *March 13th.* — The Grant or Patent was made by the Council of Plymouth, in England, to Beauchamp and Leverett, signed Robert Warwick. This describes all the land lying between Muscongus on the south, or southwest, and a straight line extending from thence ten leagues up into the main land, and ten leagues on the north and northeast of a river called Penobscot, &c.

1694, *May 9th.* — Madokawando, Sagamore of Penobscot, sold to Sir William Phipps part of the lands included in the grant made by the Council of Plymouth to Beauchamp and Leverett.

1719, *August 13th.* — Spencer Phipps, Sir William's heir, conveyed the Indian title and grant to John Leverett, Esq., the late President, and heir to the aforesaid Thomas Leverett, which Thomas, on the demise of Beauchamp, by survivorship, became by law possessed of the whole grant; and the said John Leverett, on the 14th of August, 1719, admitted Cooke and others, so as to make ten owners, which are denominated the Ten (original owners or) proprietors. The same year, the original ten admitted twenty other partners, viz. Jahleel Brenton and others, called the Twenty Associates, who were to settle two townships and build two saw-mills for the Company. They immediately proceeded to make the settlements, and break up and cultivate as much land as would accommodate a sufficient number of families for the said two townships; and, in order to secure their intended settlements against the incursions of the Indians, built and furnished two large block-houses, with a covered way to the water-

side. The Associates also built a *double saw-mill*, bought a sloop, and hired others, to transport people and their effects, and maintained a garrison, furnished with great and small artillery. In 1722, the Indians surprised, took, and burned one of the sloops, and attacked the block-houses, in which they were defeated by the garrison; but the Associates were great sufferers, the Indians having taken seven, burnt their saw-mills, a large sloop, and sundry houses. The block-houses were well defended against a siege; and in the course of twelve days' siege, laid by the Indians, twenty of the enemy were killed. The government having declared war against the Indians, Mr. Leverett, in behalf of himself and the other Associates, by a memorial in August, 1722, made a tender of the use of the block-houses to the government during the war. This checked the progress of the settlements.

After the close of this war, the Associates, being resolved to bring forward and finish their settlements, were proceeding to settle and improve the said lands with vigor, and had got a minister and a hundred and twenty families ready to go and settle, when another interruption took place. One David Dunbar, his then Majesty's Surveyor-General of the Woods, claimed a quitrent for the King, upon which the thirty partners agreed with Brigadier Waldo to go to England for the purpose of getting the said Dunbar removed; for which services, and at his own expense, he was to have one half of the patent,—which he accomplished, and Dunbar was removed. There then remained by computation 300,000 acres belonging to the thirty. In 1734, Waldo entered into an indented agreement with the Twenty Associates to complete the settlements for one half of their proportion, which was 200,000 acres. This would leave the Twenty Associates 100,000 acres, which 100,000 acres he was to set off to them, their heirs and assigns, wherever the Twenty Associates should make their pitch, to be $5\frac{1}{4}$ miles on the sea, and about 30 miles into the country, so as to include the quantity of 100,000 acres, 2,000 of which was to be in islands. This same year his Excellency, Governor Belcher, issued a proclamation notifying all persons that the proprietors were about making a regular survey of their lands.

1738. — Isaac Little, Esq. was appointed to go to the land and explore the same, and report where would be the best place to make the pitch.

The proprietors, however, did not then agree where to make their pitch, but it was postponed from time to time ; and in the year 1759 (in May) Brigadier Waldo died suddenly, without the contract being fulfilled. The business continued unfinished from year to year, until the year 1766, when one of the original Twenty Associates, viz. John Jeffries, and the heirs of others, by petition to John Cushing, Esq., a justice of the peace through the Commonwealth, obtained a warrant to call a meeting of the proprietors, to be held on the 6th of September, 1766 ; when they met, and sixteen of the original twenty were represented. After being organized, a committee was chosen to confer with the heirs of Brigadier Waldo respecting the 100,000 acres belonging to the proprietary, and report. They reported that the said heirs had agreed that the land should be set off ; and the committee, viz. Hon. Benjamin Lynde, James Bowdoin, Robert Treat Paine, Esqrs., Henry Liddle, and Nathaniel Appleton, were fully authorized and empowered to execute deeds of indenture with the said heirs of Waldo, which was accordingly done on the 7th of April, 1768. And from this date the proprietary called the Twenty Associates held the land and islands described in the deeds of severance then made between the Twenty Associates and Brigadier Waldo's heirs.

The proprietary, under the name of "the Twenty Associates of the Lincolnshire Company," proceeded to lay out and settle their lands, and gave the name of Cambden to the first township ; and the proprietors, by proposals issued for that purpose, gave great encouragement to settlers. David Fales, Esq. was employed to survey the sea-coast, and laid out a great part of the township into lots, a considerable part whereof was appropriated for settlers, who were admitted by petitioning to the clerk, and being first approved, and entering into contract, under hand and seal, to fulfil the conditions of settlement. The proprietors proceeded from year to year to encourage and place settlers upon their lands, until the interruption occasioned by the war with Great Britain in 1775. Upon peace

taking place, they resumed their plan, and in 1785 they recommenced the settling of another, now flourishing township, by the name of Hope, upon the most liberal terms. The depositions of David Fales, Esq. and Robert Thorndike, and the testimony of James Malcom, Esq., and others who assisted in laying out Camden in 1768, if necessary, can be adduced to prove the actual seizure and possession after severance of the land, which was before held in common. It was not until the year 1773 that the ten proprietors had their parts set off by Waldo's heirs; and instead of 100,000 acres, they accepted 90,100 acres in one entire tract, which is described in the deed of severance between them. So that the Twenty Associates held 100,000 acres, the ten proprietors 90,100 acres, and Waldo's heirs the residue, which left them about 400,000 acres, no part of which large tract or patent was ever claimed or disputed by any persons, corporation, or government, from the date of the patent, 1629, to the present time, 1808; and, of course, the proprietors have been in full possession upwards of one hundred and seventy-nine years.

In the year 1783, October 28, a resolve passed the General Court, for all persons holding or claiming large tracts of land, to describe the boundaries, &c., and lodge the same in the Secretary's office, in order that it might be known what land the Commonwealth had. An expression in the patent relative to the northeastern bounds rendering it uncertain whether it was intended to run easterly of Penobscot River or not, this made it necessary for the parties to ascertain the quantity by certain described lands; and it was finally resolved that the patentees should be confirmed in a quantity of land equal to thirty miles square, and if the lines described should not contain that quantity, that then any deficiency arising should be made up; and by two resolves of the 9th and 16th of February, 1798, a further confirmation of said quantity was made, and what land should be appropriated to make up for the deficiency. Before the Twenty Associates' lands were laid out into townships and plantations, the Legislature taxed the proprietary called the Twenty Associates for a number of years for what they held, the ten proprietors for theirs, and Waldo's heirs for the residue.

INSTRUCTIONS FROM O. CROMWELL.

Oliver Pr.

Instructions to be observed by Major Robart Sedgwicke, commander of the Blacke Raven, and Captaine John Leverett whoe is joined with him for the carrying one the service herein required.

You are to take under your care and direction for this present expedition, and according to the Instructions following, the ships Black Raven, Hope, Church, and Augustine now in the River of Thames and at Portsmouth, and direct your course either to the Mattachusetts Bay in New England, or to Pequot harbor, New Haven, or other good port within any of those United Collonyes as providence shall order the winde and occurrences most condeucing to the furtherance of the present designe.

Upon your arivall (through the blessing of the Lord) in any of the aforesaid harbor, you are imediately to deliver or send away the letters committed to you and directed to the severall Governors of the Collonyes of the Mattachusetts, Plymoth, Connecticott and New Haven, with intumation to them from yourselves of your arivall & expectation of a suddayne Answer to the contents of the said letters.

If upon retorn from them, you fynde an inclination and readyns in them to joyne in the present undertakeing for vindicateing the English Right, and extirpateing the Dutch, and that such Numbers of men out of all or some of the Collonyes the determination whereof must be left to your owne wisdome with the advice of others to be im-

ploide in the service, be prepared by them with all such other Necessaryes provision there attayneable, as may rationally conduce to that end, you are without neglect of any oppirtunitye to address yourselves to the worke by ordering the ships for the Manhattos, and takeing care that the soldgers from the Collonyes may by a land march meet them there or bee taken into the ships as by advice may be judged most advantageous. You being comed to the Manhattos you shall by way of surprize, open force, or otherwise, as you by a counsell of war consisting of the comandars of the ships and armie shall judge most condeucing to that end, endeavour to take in that place in the Name of his Highnes the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland for the use of the said Commonwealth. And you have power to promise and give them faire quarter in case it be rendred upon summons without hostile opposition; the like alsoe you shall doe to the fort of Auranea or any other place upon Hodson's river.

If the Lord give his blessing to your undertakeing, that the forts and places be gayned, you shall not use crueltye to the Inhabitants, but encourage those that are willing to remayne under the English goverment and give liberty to others to transport themselves for Europe. Upon gaineing of the places you shall with like advise setle such garrisons and order affaires in such manner as what is so gayned may be preserved to the English Interest till forther directions be given therein, and shall provide that the charges to be expended for maintenance an preservation therof may be borne out of the bever trade or other advantages the place affords, as likewise some suitable recompence be given to the soldgers employed in this service according to their severall proportions & deserts but of such thinges as shall be their gained if any such bee.

In all your proseedings you shall endeavour to hould loveing correspondence & advise with the Governars of the English Colloneys and such as they shall committ trust to for your assistance that if possible noe breach or disaffection may appeare in this undertakeing, wch. is onely designed for the secuuritye of those plantations with the comfort of themselves And posteritye.

The aforementioned service being performed, if tyme permitt and oportunitie be presented, you are to proceed to the gaineing in any other places from the Enemie wch upon advise with a counsell of warr may be judged feizeable and conducing to the settlement of the peace and saiftie of the English plantations. If any thinge shall occure to hinder the undertakeing or prosecution thereof, or when the worke is finished, the commanders of the severall ships are to attend such directions as they either here receyve from the commissioners of the Navye or those to whome they are consygned in those parts for their future dispose.

In the transaction of this busynes we shall depend much upon your wisdom & prudence to act according to interve[n]ing occasions and circomstances wch may be best be discerned and improved upon the place. We expect from you a carefull observation of all pasages and proceedings of moment relateing to this service, and that an axact accompt be kept thereof and rendred into us as oportunitie is presented. In case you finde any such obstructions as therby any of the govermts. should be induced not to improve the publique power in furthering the service, you are to desiyer that volunteers should not onely be permitted but encouraged to engadge therein.

By command of his Highnes

JO. THURLOE.

Whitehall 8 Feb. 1653

This is a true copy of his Highnes Comission compared with the originall this 13 March 54

JNO. LEVERETT.

To Captⁿ John Leveret Governour in chief of our Forts of St. John Port Royall, and Pentacoet in Acadia commonly called Nova Scotia in America, and to his Lieutenant and other the officers there, or any of them.

Oliver Pr.

Whereas wee have committed unto our Trusty and wel-beloved Colonell Thomas Temple the charge custody and government of our Forts of St. John, Port Royall, and Pentacoet in Acadia commonly called Nova Scotia in America, and the Martiall stores and provisions there being or thereunto belonging ; — Our will and pleasure therefore is, That you deliver or cause to bee delivered unto the said Thomas Temple ymediatly upon his arrivall there, the full and peaceable possession of the said Forts, and of all the Ordnance, Gunnes, Ammunicon, and martial stores, and other provisions of Victualls, Clothes, Barkes, Boates, Shipps and other thinges Whatsoever in the said Forts or any of them, being or of right belonging to this Commonwealth by a true and just Inventory and Appraisement at indifferent and just rates and values, and that the said Inventory and Appraisement you doe with all convenient speed send unto Us or our Councell to the end the same may bee entred of Record, and brought to Accompt in our Exchequer : For which this shalbe a sufficient warrant : Given under our Signet at Whitehall the six and twentyeth day of September 1656.

Cop. vera Ex¹

pr. JA : NUTLEY.

THE DUDLEY PAPERS.

[The following letters were discovered among some ancient papers in the possession of the descendants of Governor Joseph Dudley. We are indebted to J. W. Thornton, Esq., of Boston, for permission to take copies.

The first paper, it will be seen, is addressed to Mr. Dudley, as "President of our Councill of New-England." Dudley's commission as President of New England is dated the 8th of October previous, but from Hutchinson, Vol. I. p. 341, it appears not to have been received by him until the 15th of May following, and then by the "Rose frigate," from London. It seems probable, therefore, that the commission was brought over with this order from James the Second, which we now publish, bearing his sign manual; in which case there must have been some delay in the departure of the "Rose." Pepys was Secretary of the Admiralty under Charles the Second and James the Second.

The reader will find something further concerning Captain George and the "Rose frigate" in Hutchinson, Vol. I. p. 374, and in Chalmers's Annals, pp. 469, 470.

The letter from Solomon Stoddard to Mr. Dudley, who was then Governor under the Provincial Charter, is curious and interesting, partly as having been written about four months previous to the destruction of Deerfield, and partly for the recommendations therein contained, offered by a distinguished son of Harvard, of known piety and humanity.—Eds.]

*James the Second to Joseph Dudley, Esq., President of the
Council of New England.*

To Joseph Dudley Esq, Presid^t of our Councill of New-England, & to the President of our said Councill for the time being.

James R.

Whereas wee haue thought fitt to appoint Our Shipp the Rose Cap^t John George Commander, to attend our

Collony of New-England; Our will and pleasure is, That upon the arrivall of our said Shipp with you, you doe consider, and thence forward from time to time direct (by your written Orders on that behalfe to her Co^mander) how Our said Ship may bee best Employed for the publick Service of Our said Colonie, or any other Our Neighbouring Colonies, and upon the said publick Service thereof only; it being Our pleasure, that shee bee in noe wise Employed to the serving of the private Occasions of any Person or Persons whatsoever; On which Service of our said Colonie, Our said Shipp is to remaine until shee shall receive Our Orders for her returne, or untill by the consumption of her Victualls brought with her, and her incapacity of being supplied with more by you, (the Value of which supplies, in case you give her any, shall bee fully answered to your Acco^t here) or any other Occasion, you shall judge it necessary to give her your Order for her returne to England. For which this shall bee your Warr^t. Given at our Court at Whitehall this 28th day of November 1685.

By his Ma^{ty} Command.

S PEPYS.

[Labelled, "Order to y^e President of y^e Councill of New England, ab^t disposing of the Rose."]

Reverend Solomon Stoddard to Governor Joseph Dudley.

Excellent S^r

The Town of Deerfeild has suffered much formerly from the Indians, of late two of their young men are carryed into Captivity. this makes a great impression on the Spirits of the people, & they are much discouraged. This puts me upon it to make two proposals to your excellency.

The first is that they may be put into a way to Hunt the Indians with dogs. Other methods that have been taken, are found by experience to be chargable, hazardous & insufficient: But if dogs were trained up to hunt

Indians as they doe Bears: we should quickly be sensible of a great advantage thereby. The dogs would be an extream terror to the Indians: they are not much afraid of us, they know, they can take us & leave us. if they can but get out of gun-shot they count themselvs in no great danger, how many soever pursue them. they are neither afraid of being discoverd or pursued: But these dogs would be such a terrour to them, that after a little experience, it would prevent their comming, & men would live more safely in their houses & worke more safely in the feilds & woods: In case the Indians should come near the Towne the dogs would readily take their track & lead us to them: Sometimes we see the track of one or two Indians but can't follow it. the dogs would discover it & lead our men directly to their enemies: for the want of which help we many times take a great deal of pains to little purpose. Besides if we had dogs fitted for that purpose our men might follow Indians with more safety, there would be no hazzard of their being shot at out of the bushes, they would follow their dogs with an undaunted spirit, not fearing a surprisal: & indeed the presence of the dogs would much facilitate their victory: the dogs would doe a great deal of execution upon the enemy, & catch many an Indian that would be too light of foot for us.

If it should be thought by any that this way is unpracticable, & that the dogs will not learn to doe what we doe expect from them, these two things may satisfy them, one is that in a time of war with the Indians in Virginia, they did in this way prevaile over them, though all attempts, before they betooke themselves to this method proved in vain. the other is that our Hunters give an Account that the dogs that are used to hunt Bears mind no other track but the track of a Beare: from whence we may conclude, that if the dogs were used to pursue Indians they would mind nothing else.

If the Indians were as other people are, & did manage their warr fairly after the manner of other nations, it might be looked upon as inhumane to pursue them in such a manner. But they are to be looked upon as theives & murderers, they doe acts of hostility, without

proclaiming war. they don't appear openly in the feild to bid us battle, they use those cruelly that fall into their hands. they act like wolves & are to be dealt withall as wolves.

There must be some charge in prosecuting this design, something must be expended for the purchasing sutable dogs & for their maintenance. the men also who spend their time in this service, must be paid, but this will not rise in any proportion to the charge of maintaining a sutable number of Garrison souldiers.

I have taken Advice with several of the principal persons amongst us, & they looke upon this way as the most probable expedient in this case.

The other proposal is that the town of Deerfeild may be freed from Countey Rates during the time of the war. their circumstances doe call for commiseration: sometimes they are allarmed & called off from their businesse, sometimes they dare not goe into the feild, & when they doe goe, they are fain to wait 'till they have a gard, they can't make improvement of their outlands as other Towns doe: the houses are so crowded sometimes with souldiers that men & women can doe little businesse within doors, & their spirits are so taken up about their Dangers, that they have little heart to undertake what is needfull for advancing their estates: it seems to me to be a thing acceptable to God, that they should be considered & freed from Rates. your Excellency will not take it amisse that I take my accustomed freedome, & am so officious as to tender my advice before it be asked. The good Lord guide your Excellency & the Genr^l Assembly: to doe that which shall be serviceable to this afflicted Country, which is the hearty prayer of your humble servant

SOL: STODDARD

Northampton Oct. 22^d. 1703

Since I wrote: the father of the two Captives belonging to Deerfeild has importunately desired me to write to your Excellency, that you would endeavour the Redemption of his children. I Request that if you have any opportunity, you would not be backward to such a worke of mercy.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN REV. THOMAS PRINCE AND REV. CHARLES CHAUNCY.

[We are indebted to Isaac P. Davis, Esq., for furnishing the following correspondence. Prince's notes to Chauncy are preserved in copies made by the former upon the sheet on which Chauncy's letter to him was written. Many of the words are in a very abbreviated form, and we have taken the liberty, generally, to spell them out in full. — Eds.]

[To the Rev. Charles Chauncy.]

Rev S^r

I desire to know ? you judge there is any need of my asking your consent to my inviting a minister to preach my Lecture at the O. B. [Old Brick]. In answering which you will oblige

Your humb. Servt.

Jan. 30. 1744-5.

T. P.

To the Rev. M^r Thomas Prince.

Rev. Sir.

In answer to your question, I would ask you another, viz, whether you would express a suitable regard to me, and some others who statedly attend the *Thursday-lecture*, and are united with you in carrying it on, to ask a gentleman to preach it, whose conduct has been such (in our apprehensions) that, if he preaches, you know we cannot be present, but must be obliged to tarry at home ?

Your humble Servt

CHARLES CHAUNCY.

Wednes. Jan. 30. 1744-5.

[To the Rev. Charles Chauncy.]

Rev. S^r

I perceive the purport of your letter is, that if I got Mr. Wh. [Whitefield] to preach, that you and some others are of such a separating spirit that you will not attend the public Lecture: which I am sorry to see. In such a season as this should you not rather set a contrary example while you are publickly condemning such a spirit in others? Mr. Wh. will hear you, but you will not hear him. Pray who appears most for separation or union? Methinks you should be glad of an occasion to show as good a spirit as he.

[THOMAS PRINCE.]

DAVID TRUMBULL TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

The Reverend Jeremy Belknap, Corresponding Secretary
of the Massa: Historical Society, Boston.

Sir,

My Father, the late Governor Trumbull collected with care, the most important official papers which pass'd thro his hands, during the very interesting Period of the Revolution, with the intention that they should be preserv'd & deposited in some public Library, as materials for future Historians.

Had the Massachusetts Historical Society existed during his Life, there is no doubt but He would have chosen to give them to an Institution whose Patriotic Views they would so directly subserve in preference to a Collegiate or other Library, where they probably would soon become "Food for Worms."

His Heirs therefore, think they cannot so well fulfill the Governor's intentions on this subject, as by Offering them, as I am commissioned to do — to the Massachusetts Historical Society.

You will be pleas'd to communicate this Offer to the Society in Our names: — permitting us to suggest the propriety of their sending some person to make a selection of such papers as may be thought most usefull: — Should it be thought an object worth your personal attention. We shall be happy to give you the best evidences in our power of the Respect which we especially have for you.

I am Sir

Your most Obedient Servant

DAVID TRUMBULL.

Lebanon 15th April 1794.

Rev^d J. Belknap.

MEMOIR OF REV. ALEXANDER YOUNG, D. D.

BY REV. CHANDLER ROBBINS.

It is not to gratify the promptings of a long and agreeable friendship, nor to accord a privilege which may be claimed for every "Associate" at his decease, that this brief memoir of Dr. Young has been prepared, but from a conviction that the amount and accuracy of his historical knowledge, and the length and diligence of his services to the Massachusetts Historical Society, justly entitle his name to honorable mention in its Collections.

He was born in Boston on the 22d of September, in the year 1800; received his early education at the public Latin School of his native city, and entered Harvard College, thoroughly prepared, in 1816. His classmates in the University remember him as a faithful student and a pleasant companion. They also speak with respect of his integrity, his honorable feelings, his scholarly attainments, and his manly virtues. In the classical department, especially, he had few equals, and no superior.

Having graduated, in 1820, with distinguished honors, he became an assistant teacher, under his former instructor and esteemed friend, Benjamin A. Gould, Esq., in the same school in which he had been an exemplary and successful pupil. After a short term of service in this office, so congenial to his feelings and tastes, the still stronger love for those sacred studies to which he had determined to devote his life led him once more to Cam-

bridge, to avail himself of the rare advantages which the Divinity School there offered to students of theology. He began to preach immediately after leaving that institution, in 1824, under circumstances of unusual promise. The pulpit of the New South Church, which had been occupied by some of the most distinguished ministers and honored men whose talents and virtues have adorned and blessed our favored city, was then without an incumbent. It was no small honor to a young man to be chosen, by such a congregation as those preachers had gathered around them, to stand in their place; nor was the burden a light one which rested upon their successor. Only a man of strong character, sound learning, and more than ordinary gifts, would have ventured to undertake such a labor, or could have borne it, even for a short period, without discomfiture. It is sufficient evidence of the ability and virtues of Dr. Young, that he retained his pastoral office, and his hold upon the respect and affection of his parishioners, for twenty-nine years, notwithstanding the working of the many causes which have recently tended to diminish the numerical strength of the Boston churches, and in spite of any particular discouragements which may have affected his own ministry. Whatever influence he had, was obtained without artifice; it was fairly earned, and held without unmanly concessions. He resorted to no management to gain popularity; he condescended to no extraordinary measures to increase his congregation; he spurned the favor which is nursed by blandishments. His aim was not to excite his hearers by passionate appeals, to mystify them with transcendental idioms, to astonish them by a show of learning, or to win their applause by rhetorical tricks, but to feed their minds with sound thoughts, and instruct them by right words. His sermons were all carefully studied, written with clearness and accuracy of style and language, and delivered with great power of voice and energy of manner. He spoke so as to be understood, and the matter of his discourses was so good as always to reward the hearer for patient attention.

Dr. Young loved his library with all his heart, and was never happier than when seated at his table with one of

the "best authors" before him, or when, in the presence and under the spell of the wise and beautiful books which crowded his shelves, he was studiously composing a discourse for the pulpit, or neatly transcribing golden sentences to instruct the understanding or refine the taste. His reading was both select and extensive, his knowledge of books remarkable, his memory retentive and exact, and his literary taste pure and elegant. The community owes him a debt of gratitude for the publication, in 1839, of a series of nine volumes, containing Selections from the Old English Prose-Writers, which introduced to many, who would otherwise have remained comparatively ignorant of their value, some of the rarest literary treasures in our language.

Few men among us have manifested a greater fondness for the study of the early annals of New England, a more hearty admiration of the characters of our Pilgrim Fathers, or a more thorough and minute acquaintance with the history of the planting and establishment of the Colonies. The two historical works, which he edited with marked ability and illustrated with copious notes, will bear his name to posterity, and secure for him lasting reputation as a laborious, accurate, and zealous chronicler. The first of these, which was published in 1841, — entitled *The Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth, from 1602 to 1625; now first collected from Original Records and Contemporaneous Documents*, — has already gone through two editions. The second — containing *Chronicles of the First Planters of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, from 1623 to 1636; now first collected from Original Records and Contemporaneous Manuscripts, and illustrated with Notes* — is of scarcely inferior value and interest, and will be extensively circulated. The editor was one of the most useful members of the Historical Society. None was more constant in attending its meetings, more interested in its business and discussions, or more able and ready to impart valuable and reliable information to those of his associates who were pursuing historical investigations. As a member of the Standing Committee, and as Corresponding Secretary, he rendered important service.

Dr. Young filled several responsible offices, discharging the duties of all of them with great fidelity and punctuality. He was a member of the Board of Overseers of Harvard College from 1837 to 1853, and Secretary of the Board from 1849 till he went out, in accordance with an act of the Legislature, passed in 1851, for terminating the period of membership of the fifteen lay and fifteen clerical members who at that time constituted the permanent portion of the Board. He was President of the "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Piety, and Charity," and a member of the "Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society," the "Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and others in North America," the "Bible Society," and the "Society for Promoting Theological Education."

In his religious opinions Dr. Young was a firm and zealous Unitarian. He was, however, as much opposed to latitudinarianism on the one side, as to bigotry and exclusiveness on the other. He rested his faith, and grounded his teachings, on the rock of Christ's divine authority, and not on the reasonings or speculations of man. He was honest and independent in declaring and defending what he believed to be the truths of revelation ; but he was no controversialist, and never assumed the attitude of an assailant. The articles of his faith were clearly defined and firmly established in his own mind. He had formed them after careful and patient study of the Bible, and he was ready to give a reason for holding them.

The character of Dr. Young was a marked one, — sound in its constitution, solid in its structure, clear and plain in its contour. He was independent, honest, courageous, and steadfast. Though more remarkable for the stronger virtues than the gentler graces, yet all who knew him well discovered beneath the stout exterior a kindly disposition, a sympathetic nature, a humane and generous heart. For others' grief he had a tear ; for others' joy, a congratulation. To his friends he was the very soul of truth ; to the upright he gave his hearty applause ; to the oppressed he extended a brother's hand ; against injustice, and every form of vice, he presented a stern countenance,

and lifted up his voice in tones of indignation. As a man, we respected him; as a brother, we loved him; as a friend, we reposed in him with a perfect trust. Though others in the pulpit have attracted more admiration, none have worn the robe of our sacred office with greater dignity, or preserved it to the end more free from stain.

For the following, which is believed to be a correct list of Dr. Young's publications in pamphlet form, I am indebted to an appendix prepared by the Rev. G. E. Ellis to his sermon on the death of his former pastor, which has been published, in connection with that delivered by the Rev. E. S. Gannett, D. D., at the funeral of the subject of this memoir.

1. A Sermon at the Ordination of the Rev. James W. Thompson, at Natick, February 17, 1830.
2. An Address at the Ordination of the Rev. William Newell, at Cambridge, May 19, 1830.
3. A Pamphlet, entitled, Evangelical Unitarianism adapted to the Poor and Unlearned. 1830.
4. A Discourse on the Sins of the Tongue. 1829. Third edition, 1845.
5. A Discourse occasioned by the Death of William Parsons. March 26, 1837.
6. A Discourse on the Life and Character of the Hon. Nathaniel Bowditch. March 25, 1838.
7. A Sermon at the Ordination of the Rev. George E. Ellis, at Charlestown, March 11, 1840.
8. A Discourse on the Life and Character of the Rev. John Thornton Kirkland. May 3, 1840.
9. A Discourse occasioned by the Death of the Hon. Wm. Prescott, Dec. 15, 1844.
10. A Discourse on the Twentieth Anniversary of his Ordination. January 19, 1845.
11. The Dudleian Lecture. May 13, 1846. [Published also in the Christian Examiner.]
12. A Discourse occasioned by the Death of Benjamin Rich. June 8, 1851.
13. A Discourse occasioned by the Death of Mrs. Catharine G. Prescott. May 23, 1852.

EXEMPLIFICATION OF THE JUDGMENT FOR VACATING THE CHARTER OF THE MASSA- CHUSETTS BAY IN NEW ENGLAND.

[The following paper is copied from a contemporary manuscript in the archives of our Society. Judgment was entered against the Massachusetts Charter in 1684, in the latter part of the reign of Charles the Second. The "Exemplification of the Judgment" was issued the following year by his successor, James the Second. The original is in Latin, engrossed on rolls of parchment, and is in the office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth. On the back of one of the rolls is the following indorsement: "An Exemplificacon for our Souaigine Lord the King Against the Governor of the Mattachusetts Bay in New-England." Signed, "Pengry." — Eds.]

James the Second by the grace of God
Preamble. King of England Scotland France and Ireland
Defender of the faith &c. **To all** to whome these pres-
ents shall come Greeting **Wee haue inspected** a
certaine Judgment given before Our most Deare Brother
Lord Charles the second (of blessed memory) late king of
England in his Chancery in the Terme of the holy Trin-
ity in the six and Thirtieth yeare of his Reigne Betweene
the said late King p^{lt} And the Governor and Comp^a of
Mattachusetts Bay in New England Def^{ts} and remayning
on Record in the files of the said Court in these Words
Recitall of the **Ss: Pleas** before Our soveraigne Lord the
Proceedings. King that now is in his Chancery att Westm^r
in the County of Middx in the Terme of Easter in the six
and Thirtieth yeare of the Raigne of Our Soveraigne Lord
Charles the second by the grace of God of England Scot-
land France and Ireland King Defender of the faith &c.

Our Sovereaign Lord the King which now is hath charged his close Writt Directed to the Sheriffe of Middx in these words **Charles** The Writt to the Shff of Middlesex **the second** by the grace of God of England Scotland France and Ireland king Defender of the faith &c. **To** the Sheriffe of Middx greeting **Whereas** Reciting the Grant. Our most Deare Father Lord Charles the first late king of England by his Letters Patents sealed under the great Seale of England bearing Date att Westm^r the fowerth day of March in the fourth yeare of his Raigne Reciteing thereby, That whereas his most Deare Father Lord James late king of England &c by his Letters Patents bearing date att Westm^r the third Day of November in the Eighteenth Yeare of his Raigne had given and granted to the Councell Established att Plymouth in the County of Devon For the Plantacon Ruleing Ordering and governing of New England in America and their Successors and Assignes for ever **All that** part of America lyeing and being in breadth from Forty Degrees Northern Latitude from the Equinoctiall Lyne to Eight and forty Degrees of the same Latitude inclusively and in length of & within all that breadth throughout the maine Lands from Sea to Sea together with the firme Land Soyles grounds Bayes Rivers Waters Fishings Mynes and Mineralls as well Royall Mines of Gold and silver as other Mines and Mineralls precious Stones Quarries and all and singular other Comodities Jurisdiccions Royalties previdges Franchises and preheminencys as well within the said Tract of Land upon the Continent as within Y^e Islands and seas adjoyning **Provided** alwaies that the said Islands or any of the premisses thereby intended to be granted were not actually posses't or Inhabitted by any other Christian Prince or State or within the bounds Lymitts and Territoryes of the Southerne Colony then before that time granted by the said late King James to be planted by divers of his Subjects in the southerne parts **To haue hold possesse and enjoy** all and singular the said Continent Lands Territoryes Islands hereditaments and precincts Seas Waters Fishings with all and all manner of Comodities Royalties, Liberties, preheminencys and proffitts which thence should further arise wth all

and singular their appurtenances and every part and parcell thereof to the said Councell their Successors and Assignes for ever **To** the sole and propper vse and behoofe of them the said Councell their Successors and Assignes for ever **To be** held of him the said late King James his heires and Successors as of his Mannor of East Greenwich in the County of Kent in free and Common soccage and not in Capite nor by Knights service Rending and paying for the same to the said late King James his heires and Successors a Fifth part of the Oare of Gold & silver which from time to time and att all times should happen to be found acquired had and obtained in to or within any of the said Lands Lymitts Territoryes or precincts or in or within any part or parcell thereof for or in respect of all and all manner of Duties demands and services whatsoever to be made done and paid to the said late King James his heires and successors As by the said last recited Letters Patents of the said King James amongst divers other Clauses powers priviledges and Grants therein contained did more att large appeare Reciteing also That **Whereas** the said Councell establish't att Plymouth aforesaid for the plantacon Ruleing Ordering and Governing of New England in America by their Deed indented under their Common seale bearing date the nyneteenth day of March then last past in the third yeare of the said late King Charles the first had given granted bargained sold enfeoffed aliened & Confirmed to S^r Henry Rosewell and S^r John Young kn^{ts} Thomas Southcott John Humfrey John Endicott and Symon Whetcombe their heires Assignes and Associates for ever **All** that part of New England in America aforesaid which lay and extended betweene the great River there comonly called Monomack als Merriemack and another River there called Charles River being in the bottome of a certaine Bay there called Massachusetts als Mattachusetts als Massatusetts Bay And also all and singular those Lands and hereditaments whatsoever lyeing within the space of Three English miles on the southerne part of the said River called Charles River or any or every part thereof. **And also** all and singular the Lands and hereditaments whatsoever lyeing and being wthin the space of Three English miles southwards

of the most Southerly part of the said Bay called Massachusetts als Mattachusetts als Massatusetts Bay And also all those Lands and hereditam^{ts} whatsoever which lye and are within the space of three English miles to the northerne part of the said River called Monomack als Merriemack or to the Northerne part of any and every part thereof and all Lands and hereditaments whatsoever lying within the Lymitts aforesaid to the north and South breadth and length of and within all the said breadth through the Continent there from the Atlantick and Westerne Sea and Ocean on the Easterne part to the Southerne Sea on the Westerne part And all Lands and soyle place and places Woods and Woodlands Bayes Rivers Waters Fishings and hereditaments whatsoever lying within the bounds and lymitts aforesaid and every part and parcell thereof. **And also** all Islands lying in America aforesaid in the said Seas or either of them on the Westerne or Easterne shores or parts of the aforesaid Tract of Land by the said Indenture menconed to be given granted bargained sold enfeofed aliened and confirmed or of any of them **And also** all Mynes and Mineralls as well Mynes Royall of Gold and silver as other Mynes and Mineralls whatsoever in the aforesaid Lands and premisses or any part thereof And all Jurisdiccons Rights Royalties Lyberties Imunities priviledges Franchises preheminencys and Comodities whatsoever which the said Councell established att Plymouth in the County of Devon for the plantacon Ruleing Ordering and Governing of New England in America then had or ought to vse exercise & enioy in or with the said Lands & premisses by the said Indenture menconed to be given granted bargained sold enfeofed and confirmed or in or within any part or parcell thereof **To haue and to hold** the said part of New England in America which lyes and extends and is abutted as aforesaid and every part and parcell thereof And all the said Islands Rivers Bayes Waters Fishings Mines Mineralls Jurisdiccons Franchises, Royalties, Liberties priviledges Comodityes hereditaments and premisses whatsoever wth the appurtenances to the said S^r Henry Rosewell S^r John Young Thomas Southcott John Humphrey John Endecott and Symon

Whetcombe their heires and Assignes and their Associates to the sole and propper vse and proffitt of them the said S^r Henry Rosewell S^r John Young Thomas Southcott John Humfrey John Endecott and Symon Whetcombe their heires and Assignes and their Associates for ever **The said** late King Charles the First Our most Deare Father att the humble suite and Peticon of the said S^r Henry Rosewell S^r John Young Thomas Southcott John Humfrey John Endecott and Symon Whetcombe and others who had associated to them Did grant and Confirme to the said S^r Henry Rosewell S^r Iohn Young Thomas Southcott John Humfrey John Endecott and Symon Whetcombe and their Associates after in the said Letters Patents named to witt S^r Richard Saltonstall kn^t Isaac Johnson Samuell Aldersey John Ven Mathew Cradock George Harwood Increase Nowell Richard Perry Rich^d Bellingham Nathaniell Wright Samuell Vassall Theophilus Eaton Thomas Goffe Thomas Adams John Browne Samuell Browne Thomas Hutchins William Vassall William Pinchion and George Foxcroft their heires and Assignes **All the said part** of New England in America lyeing and extending betweene the bounds and lymitts in the aforesaid recited Indenture expressed and all Lands and soyle place and places woods and Woodlands Bayes Rivers Waters Mynes Mineralls Jurisdiccons Rights Royalties Libertyes Imunities priviledges franchises p^rheminenцыes and hereditaments bargained sold enfeoffed aliened and Confirmed or menconed or intended thereby to be given granted bargained sold enfeoffed aliened and Confirmed **To have and to hold** the said part of New England in America and other the premisses by the said Letters Patents menconed to be granted and Confirmed and every part and parcell thereof with the appurtenances vnto them the said S^r Henry Rosewell S^r Iohn Young S^r Richard Saltonstall Thomas Southcott John Humphrey John Endecott Symon Whetcombe Isaac Johnson Samuell Aldersey John Ven Mathew Cradock George Harwood Increase Nowell Richard Perry Richard Bellingham Nathaniell Wright Samuell Vassall Theophilus Eaton Thomas Goffe Thomas Adams John Browne Samuell Browne Thomas Hutchins W^m Vassall W^m Pinchion and George Foxcroft their heirs & As-

signes for ever To their sole and propper vse and proffitt for ever **And Whereas** furthermore the said late King Charles the First by his said Letters Patents for himselfe his heires and Successors did giue and grant to them the said S^r Henry Rosewell S^r John Young S^r Richard Saltonstall Thomas Southcott John Humfrey John Endecott Symon Whetcombe Isaac Johnson Samuell Aldersey John Ven Mathew Cradock George Harwood Increase Nowell Richard Perry Richard Bellingham Nathaniell Wright Samuell Vassall Theophilus Eaton Thomas Goffe Thomas Adams John Browne Samuell Browne Thomas Hutchins W^m Vassall W^m Pinchion and George Foxcroft their heires and Assignes **All that** part of New England in America which lyes and extends betweene the said River called Monomack River als Merriemack River and the said River there called Charles River being in the bottome of the said Bay called Massachusetts als Mattachusetts als Massatusetts Bay And also all and singular those Lands and hereditaments whatsoever lyeing within the space of three English miles on the Southerne part of the said River called Charles River or any or every part thereof, And also all and singular those Lands and hereditaments Whatsoever lyeing and being within the space of Three English miles to the South on the most Southerly part of the said Bay called Massachusetts als Mattachusetts als Massatusetts Bay And also all those Lands and hereditaments whatsoever which lye or are within the space of Three English miles to the north of the said River called Monomack als Merriemack or to the north of any and every part thereof And also all Lands and hereditaments whatsoever lyeing within the lymitts aforesaid to the north and south in breadth and length of and within all the said breadth through the Continent there from the Atlantick and Western Sea and Ocean upon the Easterne part to the South Sea upon the Western part and all Lands place and places Soyle Woods and Woodgrounds Bayes Rivers Waters and hereditaments whatsoever lyeing within the said bounds and lymitts and every part and parcell thereof. **To haue and to hold** possesse and enjoy the said premisses to them the said S^r Henry Rosewell S^r John Young S^r Richard Saltonstall Tho. Southcott John Hum-

phrey John Endecott Symon Whetcombe Isaac Johnson
 Samuell Aldersey John Ven Mathew Cradock George
 Harwood Increase Nowell Richard Perry Richard Belling-
 ham Nathaniell Wright Samuell Vassall Theophilus Eaton
 Thomas Goffe Thomas Adams John Browne Samuell
 Browne Thomas Hutchins William Vassall William Pin-
 chion and George Foxcroft their heires and Assignes for
 ever to their propper vse and behoofe for ever **And**
Whereas also the said late king Charles the first Our
 most deare Father for the support of the Royall Authority
 of him his heires and Successors within the lymitts and
 bounds aforesaid in New England in America aforesaid
 and to the intent that the affaires and business which from
 time to time should happen touching the Lands and Plan-
 tacon aforesaid might be the better Ordered **Did** give
 grant and confirme by his said Letters Patents to the said
 S^r Henry Rosewell S^r John Young S^r Richard Saltonstall
 Thomas Southcott John Humphrey John Endecott Symon
 Whetcombe Isaac Johnson Samuell Aldersey John Ven
 Mathew Cradock George Harwood Increase Nowell Rich-
 ard Perry Richard Bellingham Nathaniell Wright Samuell
 Vassall Theophilus Eaton Thomas Goffe Thomas Adams
 John Browne Samuell Browne Thomas Hutchins W^m Vas-
 sall W^m Pinchion and George Foxcroft, And for himsele
 his heires and Successors Did will and Order that they the
 said S^r Henry Rosewell S^r John Young S^r Richard Salton-
 stall Thomas Southcott John Humphry John Endecott
 Symon Whetcombe Isaac Johnson Samuell Aldersey John
 Ven Mathew Cradock George Harwood Increase Nowell
 Richard Perry Richard Bellingham Nathaniell Wright
 Samuell Vassall Theophilus Eaton Thomas Goffe Thomas
 Adams John Browne Samuell Browne Thomas Hutchins
 W^m Vassall W^m Pinchion and George Foxcroft and all
 such others who should then after be admitted and made
 free of the Company therein menconed from time to time
 and att all times then after should by virtue thereof be
 one body Corporate and Politique in Deed and name By
 the name of the Governor and Company of y^e Mattachu-
 setts Bay in New England And them by the name of the
 Governor and Company of the Mattachusetts Bay in New
 England one body politiq and Corporate in Deed Fact and

name for him his heires & Successors Did make Ordaine
Constitute and appoint by the said Lres Patents And that
by that name they should haue perpetuall Succession
And that by the same name they and their Successors
should be capable and able as well to plead & be implead-
ed and prosecute to demand and answere and be answered
in all and singular suites Causes Complaints and Accons
of what kind or nature soever **And also** to haue take
posseste acquire and purchase any Lands Tenements or
hereditaments or any Goods or Chattells, and the same to
grant Demise alien bargain sell and dispose as any of his
Subjects of this Kingdome of England or any other Cor-
poracon or Body pollitique thereof might lawfully doe
And furthermore that the said Governor & Company
should alwaies haue a Comon seale to be vsed in all
Causes and on all occasions of the said Company and alter
change break and make a new the same from time to time
att their pleasure **And furthermore** the said late
king Charles y^e First by the same Letters Patents for
himselpe his heires & Successors did order and grant That
from thenceforth there should be one Governo^r One Dep-
uty Governor and eightene Assistants of the said Com-
pany from time to time to be Constituted elected and
selected out of the Freemen of the same Company for the
time being in such manner and forme as therein was after-
wards exprest Which Officers should apply themselues to
take care for the best Disposicon and Ordering of the gen-
erall business and Affaires of for and concerning the said
Lands and premisses thereby menconed to be granted and
the Plantacon there and Governing of the People there
And for the better Execucon of his Royall Will and Grant
upon that Acco^t the said late King Charles the First Did
thereby name ordaine make and constitute the said
Mathew Cradock to be the first and then present Gover-
nor of the said Company, And the s^t Thomas Goffe Dep-
uty Governor And the said S^r Richard Saltonstall Isaac
Johnson Samuell Aldersey John Ven John Humfrey John
Endicott Symon Whetcombe Increase Nowell Richard
Perry Nathaniell Wright Samuel Vassall Theophilus
Eaton Thomas Adams Thomas Hutchins John Browne
George Foxcroft W^m Vassall and W^m Pinchion to be then

p'sent Assistants of the same Company To continue in the said severall places respectively for such time and in such manner as in and by the said Letters Patents was after declared and appointed **And furthermore** the said late king Charles the First thereby for himselfe his heires and Successors Ordained and granted that the Governor of the said Company for the time being or in his absence by occasion of sickness or otherwise the Deputy Governor for the time being should haue authority from time to time upon all occasions to give Order for the assembling of the said Company and to call them together to Consult and advise of the businesse and affaires of the said Company And that the said Governor Deputy Governor and Assistants for the time being should once in every moneth or oftner if they pleas'd assemble and hold and keepe a Court or Assembly of themselues for the better Ordering and direcon of their Affaires And that any seaven or more of y^e Assistants together with the Governor or Deputy Governor soe assembled should be called taken held and reputed to be a full and sufficient Court or Assembly of the said Company for the debating Ordering and dispatch of all such Businesses and occurrences which from time to time should happen touching or concerning the said Company or Plantacon And that should be held by the Governor Deputy Governor and seaven or more of y^e Assistants of the said Company for the time being upon every last Wednesday in the Termes of Hillary, Easter Trinity and Michaell respectively forever One great generall and sollemne Assembly, Which fower Generall Assemblies should be called the Foure great and generall Courts of the said Company In all and every or any of w^{ch} said Great Generall Courts soe assembled the said late king Charles the First for him his heires and Successors did thereby Give and grant to the said Governor and Company and their Successors That the Governor or in his absence the Deputy Governor of the said Company for the time being and such Assistants and Freemen thereof who should be present or the greater number of them so assembled (whereof the Governor or Deputy Governor and six Assistants att the least should be seaven) should haue full power and authority to elect, name, & appoint such and

so many others whome they should think convenient and who would be willing to accept thereof to be Freemen of the said Company and Body and admitt them thereto and to elect and constitute other Officers whome they should think convenient and requisite for the Ordering Treating and Dispatch of the affaires of the said Governor and Company and their Successors and to make Laws and Ordinances for the good and safety of the said Company and for the Governing and Ordering of the said Lands and Plantacon and of the People then inhabitting and to inhabitt there as to them from time to tyme should be thought convenient **so** that such Lawes & Ordinances should not be contrary or repugnant to the Laws and Statutes of this Kingdome of England **And whereas** the said late King Charles the first by his said Letters Patents for him his heires and Successors had established and Ordained That once in every Yeare yearly for ever (to witt) in the last Wednesday in Easter Terme yearly, The Governor Deputy Governor and Assistants of the said Company and all other Officers thereof should be a new elected in the generall Court or Assembly to be held for that Day and time for the Yeare ensueing by such major part of the said Company for the time being then and there present as aforesaid And if itt should happen that the then present Governor Deputy Governor and Assistants by the said Letters Patents appointed or such who then after should be new chosen in their places or any of them or any other Officers to be appointed for the said Company Dye or be removed from his or their severall Offices or places before the said Generall day of Eleccion ^{w^{ch}} the said late King Charles the first by the said Letters Patents Declared for any misdemeanor or default should be removed by the Governor Deputy Governor Assistants and Company or such major part of them to be assembled in any publique Court as aforesaid That then and in every such case it should and might be lawfull to and for the Governor Deputy Governor Assistants and Company aforesaid or such major part of them soe to be assembled as aforesaid in any their Assemblyes to proceed to a new eleccion of one or more others of their Company into the place or places of such Officer or Officers so dyeing or

removed according to their discretions And immediately upon & after such election and elections made of such Governor Deputy Governor Assistant or Assistants or any other Officer of the said Company in manner and forme aforesaid, The authority Office & power then before given to the former Governor Deputy Governor or other Officer and Officers so removed in whose stead and place new should be so chosen as to him them and every of them should cease and determine **Provided alwaies** and the Will and pleasure of the said late king Charles the First was that as well those who were by the said Letters Patents appointed to be the then present Governor Deputy Governor and Assistants of the said Company as those who should succeed them and all other Officers to be appointed and elected as aforesaid before their taking upon them the Execucon of their said Offices and places should respectively take their Corporall Oathes for the due and faithfull performance of their Duties in their severall Offices and places before such person or persons who should by the said Letters Patents be afterwards appointed to administer and receive the same (To witt the said Mathew Cradock who was thereby nominated and appointed the then p'sent Governor of the said Company should take the said Oathes before one or more of the Masters of the said late Kings Court of Chancery for the time being To which said Ma^r or Masters of his Chancery the said late king Did thereby giue full power and authority to take and administer the said Oath to the said Governor And after that the said Governor should be soe sworne then the said Deputy Governor and Assistants before therein named and appointed should take the said severall Oathes respectively appurteyning to their Offices and places before the said Mathew Cradock then present Governor then before sworne as aforesaid And that every such person who att the time of the Annuall election or otherwise by death or removall should be appointed to be a new Governor of the said Company should take the oathes belonging to the said place before the Deputy Governor or two Assistants of the said Company att least for the time being and a new Deputy Governor and Assistants and all other Officers then after to be chosen as aforesaid

from time to time should take the oathes respectively belonging to their places before the Governor of the s^d Company for the time being To which said Governor Deputy Governor & Assistants the said late king by his said Letters Patents did giue full power and authority to giue and administer the said Oathes respectively according to the true intent of the said late king before in the said Letters Patents Declared without any Comission or further Warr^t to be had and obtained from him his heires & Successo^{rs} in that behalfe **As by the said** Letters Patents together with severall priviledges franchises libertyes and Imunities to the said Governor and Company of Mattachusetts Bay aforesaid made and granted therein specified before Vs in Our Chancery inrolled relacon being thereunto had more fully doth & may appeare **And** Under Colour of Making laws **whereas also** wee are given to vnderstand That the said Governor and Company of Mattachusetts Bay assumeing on themselues vnder colour of the said Letters Patents power to assemble to make good and wholesome Lawes and Ordinances not repugnant or contrary to the Laws and statutes of this Kingdome of England for the better governing & Ruleing of the Inhabitants within the bounds lymitts and premisses aforesaid in the said Letters Patents aboue specified & granted They the said Governor and Company vnder colour and pretext thereof respecting only their owne private gaine and proffitt contrary to the Trust in the Body Corporate and polittique by Vs and the Lawes of this Realme of Eng- they Levy Money without Authority **lande** reposed **Haue** assumed the vnlawfull and vnjust power and authority to Levy money of our Subjects and leige people to the vse of them the said Governor and Company of Mattachusetts Bay aforesaid vnder colour of Lawes or Ordinances by them de facto Ordained and established without any other right title or Authority whatsoever And in prosecucon and execucon of such illegall and vnjust power and authority by them so vsurped, **They the said** Governor and Company in their Generall Court or assembly aforesaid held att New England aforesaid to witt att Westm^r aforesaid in the County of Middx aforesaid did make & publish certaine Lawes by them de facto enacted for the leauying of severall sumes

of money of all our Subjects and leige people as well Freemen as not Freemen of the said Company and other strangers (meaning the places lymitts bounds and premisses aforesaid in the said Letters Patents aboue expressed and granted) Inhabitants and those that come to them (that is to say) Of every man of the age of sixteene yeares there inhabitting (Excepting the Magistrates and Elders of Churches) One shilling and eight pence a Head yearely to be paid, and also for all goods Merchandizes and provisions of all sorts (excepting Fish, Sheeps Wooll Cotton Wooll Salt and such other things as by former Lawes are exempted or otherwise provided for (meaning the Lawes and Ordinances by the Governor and Company aforesaid made) w^{ch} from any Forreigne part or other Jurisdiccon should be Imported into any Ports Shores or elcewhere within that Jurisdiccon (meaning the places lymitts bounds and premisses aforesaid in the said Letters Patents aboue specified and granted) for the vallue of every Twenty shillings One penny in money, Which penny by Twenty shillings should be paid by the Agent Factor Owner or other person by whome they are brought or to whome they are sent or Consigned And so according to that proporcon for all greater or lesser quantities whatsoever, And also of all Merchants or Masters of Strangers shippes who should arive with merchandize in any the Ports of Boston or Charles Towne and make sale thereof or the greater part thereof by way of Custome or Imposicon according to the rate of six pence per Tunn for every ship to be paid out of the Merchandize And of all Masters of every such Shipp Tenn shillings and of every English shipp or other shipp laden in England by any English man arriveing in their Ports Ten shillings for every shipp aboue the Burthen of Two hundred Tuns, and six shillings eight pence for every Vessell vnder that Burthen, and divers other sumes of money of divers persons inhabitting or Trafficking in those parts **And that the** said Governor and Company of Mattachusetts Bay aforesaid vnder colour and pretence of the Orders and Ordinances aforesaid so by them for their private Lucre and gaine illegally made and without any other right title

viz. the Rate of
20d p head of all
men of the age of
16.

the Duty of 1d p
pd Value for Mer-
chandise Import-
ed.

The Duty of Tun-
nage.

or authority whatsoever for the space of seaven yeares last past haue exacted and leauyed and caused to be exacted diuers great sumes of money in the Whole amounting to Fifty Thousand pounds per ann of all the persons aforesaid inhabitting and trafficking within the places lymitts bounds and premisses and the same money converted and disposed to their own vse, (That is to say att Westm^r aforesaid) To the subversion of the good ruleing and Government of the Company aforesaid and to the great oppression and impoverishing of our Subjects inhabitting and Trafficking there **And that** the said Governor and Company of Mattachusetts ^{Coyning Money} Bay aforesaid under colour & p'text aforesaid and respecting their private lucre and gaine in their publique Court or Assembly aforesaid held att New England aforesaid That is to say att Westm^r aforesaid did make and publish one other Law or Ordinance by them de facto enacted to the effect following that is to say That there should be a Mint house erected att Boston (meaning a certaine Towne called Boston in New England aforesaid) And that the Master of the said Mint and all Officers there should be sworne and allowed of by the said Court or such who should be Authorized to that purpose And that all persons whatsoever should haue Liberty to bring into the said Mint all Bullion plate or Spanish money there to be melted and brought to Allay of sterling money by the Master of the said Mint and his sworne Officers from time to time by him and them to be Coyned into **Twelue penny, six penny and Thre prunny peices** which should be stamp'd wth a Double Ring on either side wth this Inscripticon **Massachusetts** and a Tree in the Center of the one side **New England** wth the yeare of our Lord and the Figure **XX. VII. III** according to the vallue of each peece on the other side together wth a priuate mark which should be appointed every Three moneths by the Governor and knowne only to him and the sworne Officers of the Mint **And further** the Master of the Mint aforesaid was by the Law and Ordinance aforesaid required to coyne all the said money of good silver of the just Allay of new sterling English money and for vallue Two pence in the shilling of lesser

vallue then the then present English Coyne and the lesser peeces proporconably And that all such Coyne as aforesaid should be acknowledged to be the Current money of that Commonwealth (meaning the said Governor and Company aforesaid) and to passe from man to man in all paym^{ts} accordingly within that Jurisdiccon And that the said Master and Company of Mattachusetts Bay aforesaid in execucon of the Law and Ordinance aforesaid did erect the said Mint house att Boston That is to say att Westm^r aforesaid and for the space of seaven Yeares last past without any other right and against Our Will did Coyne and cause to be coyned divers sumes of money And that the said Governor and Company of Mattachusetts Bay aforesaid vnder the colour and pretext aforesaid and respecting only their owne private Lucre and gaine in their publiq Court or Assembly aforesaid held att New England aforesaid to witt att Westm^r aforesaid Did make and publish one other Law or Ordinance by them de facto Enacted to the effect following that is to say That noe man should be vrged to take an Oath or subscribe to any Articles Covenants or Remonstrances of publique and Civill nature but such as the Generall Court (meaning the publique Assembly aforesaid) had Considered allowed and required And that noe oath of any Magistrate or other Officer should bind him any further or longer then hee was resident or reputed an Inhabitant of that Jurisdiccon (meaning the bounds and premisses in the said Letters Patents aboue specified and granted **And forasmuch** as

Imposing an Oath
of fidelity to ye
Governmt.

divers Inhabitants of that Jurisdiccon who had long continued amongst them receiving protection from that Governm^t had as they were informed vttered Offensiuie speeches whereby their fidelity to that Government might justly be suspected and also that divers strangers of Forreigne parts did repaire to them of whose fidelity they had not that assurance which was comonly required of all Governments **Itt was therefore** Ordered by that Court and the authority thereof That the County Courts or any one Magistrate out of Court should haue power and were thereby authorized to require the oath of fidelity of all settled Inhabitants amongst them who had not already taken the same as also to require the

Oath in the said Law or Ordinance vnderwritten of all strangers who after two moneths had their abode there, And if any person should refuse to take the respective oath hee or they should be bound over to the next County Court or Court of Assistants where if hee should refuse should forfeit Fiue pounds a week for every week hee should continue in that Jurisdiccon (meaning the said places lymitts bounds and the premisses aforesaid in the said Letters Patents expressed and granted) after his said refusall vnlesse hee could give sufficient security to the satisfaccon of the Court or Magistrate for his fidelity during his or their residence amongst them Which said Oath soe as aforesaid in the said Law and Ordinance subscribed followed in these words **You A B**

The Oath.

Doe acknowledge your selfe subject to the Laws of this Jurisdiccon dureing your Residence under this Government And doe here sweare by the great name of the ever Liveing **God** and engage your selfe to be true and faithfull to the same and not to Plott contrive and conceale any thing that is to the hurt or detriment thereof **And that** the said Governor and Company of Mattachusetts Bay aforesaid for the space of seaven Yeares last past haue imposed and caused to be imposed to witt at Westm^r aforesaid without any other right or Authority in that behalfe had or obtained and against Our Will the said Oath on all Inhabitants and Residents within the places lymitts bounds and premisses in the said Letters Patents aboue expres't and granted in contempt of our Lawes of this Kingdome of England and to the Disherison and apparent losse of our Royall State and contrary to the tenor and effect of the said Letters Patents By reason whereof our service of and for the Keeping of our peace and good rule and Government of our people there was and is much impeded to the great damage of our people residing there and to our noe small prejudice and grievance By reason whereof the said Governor and Company of Mattachusetts Bay aforesaid haue forfeited the said Letters Patents **And because** Wee are willing that Justice should be done therein **Wee therefore Command you** that by honest and lawfull men of your Bayliwick you cause

Directions to
summons the
Company.

to be knowne to the said Governor and Company of Mat-tachusetts Bay in New England aforesaid That they be before vs in Our Chancery aforesaid in the morrow of the Assention of our Lord next comeing whereever itt shall then be to shew cause if they haue or can why the said Letters Patents soe as aforesaid to them the said Gov-ernor and Company made and granted and the Inrollm^t thereof for the reasons aforesaid forfeited ought not to be Cancelled vacated annihilated and restored into our said Court of Chancery there to be cancelled And further to doe and receive what Our said Court shall consider in that behalfe And haue you there the names of them by whome you shall make itt to be knowne unto them and this Writt **Witness** Our selfe att Westm^r the sixteenth day of Aprill in the six and thirtyeth yeare of Our Reigne **Att**

Return of the
Writt.

which said morrow of y^e Assention of our Lord before our said Sovereigne Lord the king that now is in his said Chancery here that is to say att Westm^r aforesaid came S^r Robert Sawyer kn^t his Ma^{ty} At-torney Generall who prosecutes this cause for our said Sovereigne Lord the King in his propper person and the Sheriffe of Middx aforesaid, that is to say, S^r Peter Dan-iell kn^t and Samuell Dashwood Esq^r did command the said

That the G &
Company have
Nothing wthin
their Bailiwick.

writt to be executed and returned in forme fol-lowing that is to say That the said Governor & Company had nothing nor any of them had any thing in his Baylywick whereby he might make knowne unto them or any of them, nor were they or any of them found in the same **Whereupon**

The second Writt
to ye shff of
Middlsx.

our said Sovereigne Lord the king that now is charged his other close Writt in like manner directed to the said Sheriffe of Middx in these words

Charles the Second by the grace of God King of England Scotland France and Ireland Defender of the Faith &c. **To** the Sheriffe of Middlesex

Reciting the
Grant.

greeting **Whereas** Our most Deare Father Lord Charles the First late King of England by his Letters Patents sealed vnder the greates seale of England bearing date att Westm^r the fowerth day of March in the fowerth yeare of his Raigne Reciteing thereby **That whereas** his most deare Father Lord James late King of England

&c. by his Letters Patents bearing date att Westm^r, the third day of November in y^e eighteenth yeare of his Raighe had given and granted to the Councell establish't att Plymouth in the County of Devon For the plantacon Ruleing Ordering and governing of New England in America and their Successors and Assignes for ever **All that part** of America lyeing and being in breadth from Forty degrees Northerne Latitude from the Equinoctiall Line to eight and forty degrees of the same Latitude inclusively and in length of and within all that breadth throughout the Maine Lands from Sea to Sea together wth the firme Land Soyles grounds Bayes Rivers waters Fishings Mynes and Mineralls as well Royall Mines of Gold and Silver as other Mynes and Mineralls pretious Stones Quarries, and all and singular other Comodities jurisdicons Royalties priviledges Franchises and preheminencyes as well within the said tract of Land upon the Continent as within the Islands and seas adjoyning **Provided alwaies** that the said Islands or any of the premisses thereby intended to be granted were not actually posses't or inhabitted by any other Christian Prince or State or within the bounds lymitts and Territoryes of the Southerne Colony before that time granted by the said late King James to be planted by divers of his Subjects in the Southerne parts **To haue hold possesse & enjoy** all and singular the said Continent Lands Territoryes Islands hereditaments and precincts Seas Waters Fishings with all and all manner of Comodities Royalties Liberties preheminencyes and proffits which thence should further Arise with all and singular their appurtenances and every part and parcell thereof to the said Councell their Successors and Assignes for ever **To** the sole and proper Vse and behoofe of them the said Councell their Successors and Assignes for ever **To be** holden of him the said late King James his heires and Successors as of his Mannor of East Greenwich in the said County of Kent in free and Common soccage and not in capite or by knights service **Rendring** and paying for the same to the said late King James his heires and successors a fifth part of the Oare of Gold and silver which from time to time and att all times should happen to be found acquired had and

obtained in to or within any of the said Lands lymitts Territoryes or precincts or in or wthin any part or parcell thereof for or in respect of all and all manner of duties demands and services whatsoever to be made done and paid to the said late king James his heires and Successors **As** by the said last recited Letters Patents of the said King James amongst divers other Clauses powers privileges and Grants therein conteyned did more att large appeare **Reciting** also **That whereas** the said Councell establish't att Plymouth aforesaid for the plantacon ruleing Ordering and Governing of New England in America by their Deed indented vnder their Common seale bearing date the nyneteenth day of March then last past in the Third yeare of the said late king Charles the first had given granted bargained sold enfeofed aliened and confirmed to S^r Henry Rosewell and S^r John Young knights Thomas Southcott John Humfrey John Endecott & Symon Whetcombe their heires Assignes and Associates for ever **All** that part of New England in America aforesaid which lay and extended betweene the great River there comonly called Monomack als Merriemack and another River there called Charles River being in the bottome of a certaine Bay there called Massachusetts als Mattachusetts als Massatusetts Bay And also all and singular those Lands and hereditam^{ts} whatsoever lying within the space of three English miles on the Southerne part of y^e said River called Charles River or any or every part thereof **And also all and singular** the lands and hereditaments whatsoever lyeing and being within the space of three English miles southwards of the most southerly part of the said Bay called Massachusetts als Mattachusetts als Massatusetts Bay And all those Lands and hereditam^{ts} whatsoever which lye and are within the space of Three English miles to the northern part of the said River called Monomack als Merriemack or to the northerne part of any and every part thereof and all Lands and hereditaments whatsoever lyeing within the lymitts aforesaid to the north and south in Breadth and length of and within all the said breadth through the Continent there from the Atlantick and Westernne sea and Ocean on the Easterne part to the Southerne sea on the Westernne part and all

Lands and soile place and places woods and Woodlands Bayes Rivers Waters Fishings and hereditaments whatsoever lyeing within the bounds and lymitts aforesaid and every part and parcell thereof And also all the Islands lyeing in America aforesaid in the said Seas or either of them on the westernne or Easterne shores or parts of the aforesaid Tract of Land by the said Indenture menconed to be given granted Bargained sold enfeofed aliened and confirmed or of any of them And also all Mynes and Mineralls as well Mynes Royall of Gold & Silver as other Mynes & Mineralls whatsoever in the aforesaid Lands and premisses or any part thereof and all Jurisdiccons rights Royalties Liberties Imunities priviledges franchises p^rhemincys and Comodities whatsoever which the said Councell establish't att Plymouth in the County of Devon for the plantacon Ruleing Ordering and governing of New England in America then had or ought to vse exercise and enjoy in or with the said Lands and premisses by the said Indenture menconed to be given granted bargained sold enfeofed and confirmed or in or wthin any part or parcell thereof **To haue and to hold** the said part of New England in America which lyes and extends and is abutted as aforesaid and every part & parcell thereof and all the said Islands Rivers Bayes Waters Fishings Mines Mineralls Jurisdiccons franchises Royalties Liberties priviledges comodities hereditam^{ts} and premisses whatsoever with the appurtenances to the said S^r Henry Rosewell S^r John Young Thomas Southcott John Humphry John Endecott and Symon Whetcombe their heires and Assignes and their Associates **To the** sole and propper vse and proffitt of them the said S^r Henry Rosewell S^r John Young Thomas Southcott John Humphrey John Endecott & Symon Whetcombe their heires and Assignes and their Associates forever **The said** late king Charles the first Our most Deare Father att the humble suite and Peticon of the said S^r Henry Rosewell S^r John Young Thomas Southcott John Humfrey John Endecott and Symon Whetcombe and others who had Associated to them Did grant and confirme to the said S^r Henry Rosewell S^r John Young Thomas Southcott John Humfrey John Endecott and Symon Whetcombe and their Associates after in the said Letters Patents

named. To witt, S^r Richard Saltonstall kn^t Isaac Johnson
 Samuell Aldersey John Ven Mathew Cradock George Har-
 wood Increase Nowell Richard Perry Richard Bellingham
 Nathaniell Wright Samuell Vassall Theophilus Eaton
 Thomas Goffe Thomas Adams John Browne Samuell
 Browne Thomas Hutchins William Vassall William Pin-
 chion and George Foxcroft their heires and Assignes **All**
the said part of New England in America lyeing
 and extending betweene the bounds and lymitts in the afore-
 said recited Indenture expressed and all Lands and soyle
 place and places Woods and Woodlands Bayes Rivers
 Waters Mynes Mineralls jurisdiccons Rights Royalties Lib-
 ertyes Imunities priuiledges franchises preheminencies and
 hereditam^{ts} bargained sold enfeofed aliened and confirmed
 or menconed or intended thereby to be given granted bar-
 gained sold enfeofed aliened and confirmed **To haue &**
to hold the said part of New England in America and
 other the premisses by the said Letters Patents menconed to
 be granted and confirmed and every part and parcell thereof
 wth y^e appurtenances vnto them the said S^r Henry Rose-
 well S^r John Young S^r Richard Saltonstall Thomas South-
 cott John Humfrey John Endecott Symon Whetcombe
 Isaac Johnson Samuell Aldersey John Ven Mathew Cradock
 George Harwood Increase Nowell Richard Perry Richard
 Bellingham Nathaniell Wright Samuell Vassall Theophi-
 lus Eaton Thomas Goffe Thomas Adams John Browne
 Samuell Browne Thomas Hutchins William Vassall W^m
 Pinchion and George Foxcroft their heires and Assignes
 for ever To their sole and propper vse and proffitt for
 ever. **And whereas furthermore** the said late King
 Charles the first by his said Letters Patents for himselfe
 his heires and Successors Did give and grant to them the
 said S^r Henry Rosewell S^r John Young S^r Rich^d Saltonstall
 Thomas Southcott John Humfrey John Endecott Symon
 Whetcombe Isaac Johnson Samuell Aldersey John Ven
 Mathew Cradock George Harwood Increase Nowell Rich-
 ard Perry Richard Bellingham Nathaniell Wright Samuell
 Vassall Theophilus Eaton Thomas Goffe Thomas Adams
 John Browne Samuell Browne Thomas Hutchins William
 Vassall W^m Pinchion and George Foxcroft their heires
 and Assignes **All that** part of New England in America

which lyes and extends betweene the said River called Monomack River als Merriemack River and the said River there called Charles River being in the bottome of the said Bay called Massachusetts als Mattachusetts als Massachusetts Bay And also all and singular those Lands and hereditaments whatsoever lyeing within the space of three English miles on the Southerne part of the said River called Charles River or any or every part thereof, And also all and singular those Lands and hereditaments whatsoever lyeing and being within the space of Three English miles to the South on the most Southerly part of the said Bay called Massachusetts als Mattachusetts als Massachusetts Bay And also all those Lands & hereditam^{ts} whatsoever which lye or are within the space of Three English miles to the north of the said River called Monomack als Merriemack or to the north of any and every part thereof And also all Lands and hereditaments whatsoever lyeing within the Lymitts afores^d to the north and south in Breadth and length of and within all the said breadth through the Continent there from the Atlantick and Western Sea and Ocean upon the Easterne part to y^e South Sea upon the westerne part and all Lands place and places soyle Woods and Woodgrounds Bayes Rivers Waters and hereditaments whatsoever lyeing within the said bounds & Lymitts and every part and parcell thereof **To haue and to hold** possesse and enjoy the said premisses to them the said S^r Henry Rosewell S^r John Young S^r Richard Saltonstall Thomas Southcott John Humfrey John Endecott Symon Whetcombe Isaac Johnson Samuell Aldersey John Ven Mathew Cradock George Harwood Increase Nowell Richard Perry Richard Bellingham Nathaniell Wright Samuell Vassall Theophilus Eaton Thomas Goffe Thomas Adams John Browne Samuell Browne Thomas Hutchins W^m Vassall W^m Pinchion and George Foxcroft their heires and Assignes for ever **To** their proper vse and behoofe for ever **And whereas** also the said late King Charles the first Our most Deare Father for the support of the Royall Authority of him his heires and Successor^{ts} within the lymitts and bounds aforesaid in New England in America aforesaid and to the intent that the affaires and business which from time to time

should happen touching the Lands and plantacon afore-said might be the better ordered Did giue grant and confirme by his said Letters Patents to the said S^r Henry Rosewell S^r John Young S^r Rich^d Saltonstall Thomas Southcott John Humfrey John Endecott Symon Whetcombe Isaac Johnson Samuell Aldersey John Ven Mathew Cradock George Harwood Increase Nowell Richard Perry Richard Bellingham Nathaniell Wright Samuell Vassall Theophilus Eaton Thomas Goffe Thomas Adams John Browne Samuell Browne Thomas Hutchins William Vassall W^m Pinchion and George Foxcroft And for himselfe his heires and Successors Did will and order That they the said S^r Henry Rosewell S^r John Young S^r Richard Saltonstall Thomas Southcott John Humfrey John Endecott Symon Whetcombe Isaac Johnson Samuell Aldersey John Ven Mathew Craddock George Harwood Increase Nowell Richard Perry Richard Bellingham Nathaniell Wright Sam^l Vassall Theophilus Eaton Thomas Goffe Thomas Adams John Browne Sam^l Browne Thomas Hutchins W^m Vassall W^m Pinchion and George Foxcroft and all such others who should then after be admitted and made free of the Company therein menconed from time to time and att all times then after should by virtue thereof be one body Corporate and politique in Deed and name By the name of the Governor and Company of the Mat-tachusetts Bay in New England And them by the name of the Governor and Company of the Mattachusetts Bay in New England one Body pollitiq and Corporate in Deed fact and name for him his heires and Successors did make ordaine constitute and appoint by the said Letters Patents And that by that name they should haue perpetuall Succession And that by the same name they and their Successors should be capable and able as well to plead and be impleaded and prosecute to demand and answere and be answered in all and singular suites Causes complaints and accons of what kind or nature soever And also to haue take possesse acquire and purchase any Lands tenem^{ts} or hereditaments or any goods or chattells, and the same to grant Demise alien bargaine sell and dispose as any of his subjects of this Kingdome of England or any other Corporacon or body politique thereof might lawfully doe.

And furthermore that the said Governor and Company should alwaies haue a Comon seale to be vsed in all Causes and on all occasions of the said Company and alter change break and make a new the same from time to time att their pleasure **And furthermore** the said late king Charles the first by the same Letters Patents for himselfe his heires and Successors Did order and grant That from thenceforth there should be one Governor One Deputy Governor, and eightene Assistants of the said Company from time to time to be constituted elected and selected out of the Freemen of the same Company for the time being in such manner and forme as therein was afterwards expres't Which Officers should apply themselues to take care for the best disposicon and Ordering of the generall Busines and affaires of for and concerning the said Lands and premisses thereby menconed to be granted and the plantacon there and Governing of the People there **And for the better** execucon of his Royall Will and Grant upon that Account The said late king Charles the first Did thereby name Ordaine make and constitute the said Mathew Cradock to be the first and then present Governor of the said Company and the said Thomas Goffe Deputy Governor And the said S^r Richard Saltonstall Isaac Johnson Samuell Aldersey John Ven John Humfrey John Endecott Symon Whetcombe Increase Nowell Richard Perry Nathaniel Wright Samuell Vassall Theophilus Eaton Thomas Adams Thomas Hutchins John Browne George Foxcroft W^m Vassall and W^m Pinchion to be the then present Assistants of the same Company To continue in the said severall places respectively for such time and in such manner as in and by the said Letters was after declared and appointed **And furthermore** the said late king Charles the First thereby for himselfe his heires and Successors Ordained and granted That the Governor of the said Company for the time being or in his absence (by occasion of sickness or otherwise) the Deputy Governor for the time being should haue authority from time to time vpon all occasions to give Order for the Assembling of the said Company and to call them together to Consult and Advise of the business and Affaires of the said Company And that the said Governor Deputy Governor and Assist-

ants for the time being should once in every Moneth or oftner if they pleased assemble and hold and keepe a Court or Assembly of themselues for the better Ordering and direcon of their affaires And that any seaven or more of the Assistants together with the Governor or Deputy Governor soe assembled should bee called taken, held and reputed to be a full and sufficient Court or Assembly of the said Company for the debating Ordering and dispatch of all such businesses and occurrences which from time to time should happen touching or concerning the said Company or Plantacon And that should be held by the Governor Deputy Governor and seaven or more of the Assistants of the said Company for the time being upon every last Wednesday in the Termes of Hillary, Easter, Trinity and Michaell respectively for ever, one Great generall and solemne Assembly Which Foure generall Assemblies should be called the Foure great and generall Courts of the said Company **In all** and every or any of which said great generall Courts soe assembled the said late King Charles the first for him his heires and Successors Did thereby give and grant to the said Governor and Company and their Successors That the Governor or in his absence the Deputy Governor of the said Company for the time being and such Assistants and Freemen thereof who should be present or the greater number of them soe assembled (whereof the Governor or Deputy Governor and six Assistants att the least should be seaven) should haue full power and authority to elect name and appoint such and soe many others whome they should think convenient and who would be willing to accept thereof to be Freemen of the said Company and Body and admitt them thereto and to elect and constitute other Officers whome they should think convenient and requisite for the Ordering Treating and dispatch of the affaires of the said Governor and Company and their Successors and to make Laws and Ordinances for the good and safety of the said Company and for the governing and Ordering of the said Lands and Plantacon and of the People then inhabitting and to inhabitt there as to them from time to time should be thought convenient So that such Laws and Ordinances should not be contrary or repugnant to the Laws and

Statutes of his Kingdom of England **And whereas** the said late King Charles the first by his said Letters Patents for him his heires and Successors had established and ordained That once in every yeare Yearely for ever (to witt) in the last Wednesday in Easter Terme yearely the Governor Deputy Governor and Assistants of the said Company and all other Officers thereof should be a new elected in the generall Court or Assembly to be held for that day and time for the Yeare ensuing by such major part of the said Company for the time being then and there present as aforesaid And if it should happen that the then present Governor Deputy Governor and Assistants by the said Letters Patents appointed or such who then after should be new chosen into their places or any of them or any other Officers to be appointed for the said Company dye or be removed from his or their severall Offices or places before the said generall day of Eleccion which the said late King Charles the first by the said Letters Patents declared for any misdemeanor or default should be removed by the Governor Deputy Governor Assistants and Company or such major part of them to be assembled in any publike Court as aforesaid That then and in every such case it should and might be lawfull to and for the Governor Deputy Governor Assistants and Company aforesaid or such major part of them so to be assembled as aforesaid in any their Assemblies to proceed to a new Eleccion of one or more others of their Company into the place or places of such Officer or Officers so dyeing or amoved according to their Discretions And imediately upon and after such eleccion and eleccions made of such Governor Deputy Governor Assistant or Assistants or any other Officer of the said Company in manner and forme aforesaid the authority office and power then before given to the former Governor Deputy Governor or other Officer or Officer^s soe removed in whose stead and place new should be so chosen as to him them and every of them should cease and determine **Provided** alwaies and the Will and pleasure of the said late King Charles the first was That as well those who were by the said Letters Patents appointed to be the then present Governor Deputy Governor and Assistants of the said Company as

those who should succeed them and all other Officers to be appointed and elected as aforesaid before their takeing upon them the execucon of their said Offices and places should respectively take their corporall oathes for the due and faithfull performance of their duties in their severall Offices and places before such person or persons who should by the said Letters Patents be afterwards appointed to administer and receive the same To witt the said Mathew Cradock who thereby was nominated and appointed the then present Governor of the said Company should take the said oathes before [one] or more of the Masters of the said late Kings Court of Chancery for the time being To which said Master or Masters of his Chancery the said late king Did thereby give full power and authority to take and administer the said Oath to the said Governor And after that the said Governor should be soe sworne then the said Deputy Governor and Assistants before therein named and appointed should take the said severall Oathes respectively appurteyning to their Offices and places before the said Mathew Cradock then present Governor then before sworne as aforesaid And that every such person who att the time of the Anuall elecon or otherwise by death or removall should be appointed to be a new Governor of the said Company should take the oathes belonging to the said place before the Deputy Governor or two Assistants of the said Company at the least for the time being and a new Deputy Governor and Assistants and all other Officers then after to be chosen as aforesaid from time to time should take the oathes respectively belonging to their places before the Governor of the said Company for the time being To which said Governor Deputy Governor and Assistants the said late king by his said Letters Patents did giue full power and authority to giue and administer the said Oathes respectively according to the true intent of the said late King before in the said Letters Patents declared without any Comission or further Warr^t to be had and obtained from him his heires and Successo^{rs} in that behalfe As by the said Letters Patents together wth severall priviledges franchizes Liberties and Immunities to the said Governor and Company of Mattachusetts Bay aforesaid made and granted therein specified

before Vs in our Chancery inrolled relacon being thereunto had more fully doth and may appeare **And** Causes of forfeiture viz.
Whereas also wee are given to vnderstand That the said Governor and Company of Mattachusetts Bay assuming on themselues vnder colour of the said Letters Patents power to assemble to make good and whollsome Laws and Ordinances not repugnant or contrary to the Laws and Statutes of this Kingdome of England for the better governing and Ruleing of the Inhabitants within the bounds lymitts and premisses aforesaid in the said Letters Patents aboue specified and granted They the said Governor and Company vnder colour and pretext thereof respecting only their owne private gaine and proffitt contrary to the Trust in the body Corporate and politique by Vs and the Lawes of this Realme of Eng- Levyng Money without Authority.
land reposed haue assumed the vnlawfull and vnjust power and authority to leauy money of our Subjects and leige people to the vse of them the said Governor and Company of Mattachusetts Bay aforesaid vnder colour of Lawes or Ordinances by them de facto ordained and established wthout any other right title or Authority whatsoever And in prosecucon and execucon of such illegall and vnjust power and authority soe by them vsurped They the said Governor and Company in their generall Court or Assembly aforesaid held att New England aforesaid to witt att Westm^r aforesaid in the County of Middx aforesaid did make and publish certaine Lawes by them de facto enacted for the leauying of severall sumes of money of all our Subjects & liege People as well freemen as not freemen of the said Company & other strangers (meaning the places lymitts bounds and premisses aforesaid in the said Letters Patents aboue expressed and granted) Inhabitants and those The Rate of 20d p head for every man of the age of 16.
that come to them That is to say of every man of the age of sixteene Yeares there inhabitting (excepting the Magistrates and Elders of Churches) One shilling & eight pence a head yearely to be paid and also for all goods merchandizes and provisions of all sorts (excepting Fish sheep's Wooll Cotton Wooll salt and such other things as by former Laws are exempted or otherwise provided for (meaning the Lawes and Ordinances

by the Governor and Company aforesaid made) which from any forreigne part or other Jurisdiccon should be imported into any Ports Shores or elcewhere within that Jurisdiccon (meaning the places lymitts bounds and premisses aforesaid in the said Letters Patents aboue specified and

A Duty of 1d p.
pd Value for Mer-
chandize Import-
ed

granted) for the vallue of every Twenty shillings one penny in money w^{ch} penny by Twenty shillings should be paid by the Agent, ffactor,

Owner or other person by whome they are brought or to whome they are sent or consigned And soe according to that proporcon for all greater or lesser quantities whatsoever And also of all Merchants or Masters of Strangers

A Duty of Tun-
nage

shippes who should arrive with merchandize in any of the Ports of Boston or Charles Towne and

make sale therefor the greater part thereof by way of Custome or Imposicon according to the rate of Six pence per Tun for every ship to be paid out of the Merchandize

And of all Masters of every such shipp Ten shillings And of every English ship or other ship laden in England

by any English man arriveing in their Ports Tenn shillings for every ship aboue the Burthen of Two hundred Tuns

and six shillings Eight pence for every Vessell vnder that Burthen, and divers other sumes of money of divers persons inhabitting or trafficking in those parts And that

the said Governor and Company of Mattachusetts Bay aforesaid vnder colour and pretence of the Orders and

Ordinances aforesaid soe by them for their private lucre and gaine illegally made and without any other right title

or authority whatsoever for the space of seaven Yeares last past haue exacted and leavyed and caused to be exacted

divers great sumes of money in the whole amounting to Fifty Thousand pounds per ann of all the persons aforesaid inhabitting and Trafficking within the places

Lymitts bounds & premisses and the same money converted and disposed to their owne vse that is to say att Westm^r

aforesaid To the subversion of the good ruleing and Government of the Company aforesaid and to the great oppression & impoverishing of our Subjects inhabit-

ting and trafficking there And that the said Governor and Company of Mattachusetts

Bay afores^d vnder collour and pretext aforesaid and respect-

Coyning Money.

ing their private lucre and gaine in their publique Court or Assembly aforesaid held att New England aforesaid that is to say att Westm^r aforesaid did make and publish one other Law or Ordinance by them de facto enacted to the effect following that is to say That there should be erected a Mint house att Boston (meaning a certaine Towne called Boston in New England aforesaid, And that the Master of the said Mint and all Officers there should be sworne and allowed of by the said Court or such who should be authorized to that purpose and that all persons whatsoever should haue liberty to bring into the said Mint all Bullion Plate or Spanish money there to be melted and brought to Allay of Sterling money by the Master of the said Mint and his sworne Officers from time to time by him and them to be Coyned into Twelue penny Six penny and Three penny peeces which should be stamp'd with a double Ring on either side with this Inscriptcon **Massachusetts** and a Tree in the Center of the one side **New England** with the Yeare of our Lord and the Figure **XX. VII. III** according to the vallue of each peece on the other side together with a private mark which should be appointed every three moneths by the Governor and knowne only to him and the sworne officers of the Mint **And further** the Master of the Mint aforesaid was by the Law and Ordinance aforesaid required to coyne all the said money of good silver of the just Allay of new Sterling English money and for vallue two pence in the shilling of lesser vallue then the then present English Coyne and the lesser peeces proporconably And that all such Coyne as aforesaid should be acknowledged to be the Current money of that Comonwealth (meaning the said Governor and Company aforesaid) and to passe from man to man in all payments accordingly within that Jurisdiccon **And** that the said Master and Company of Mattachusetts Bay aforesaid in execucon of the Law and Ordinance aforesaid did erect the said Minthouse att Boston that is to say att Westm^r aforesaid and for the space of seaven Yeares last past without any other right and against Our Will did coyne and cause to be coyned divers sumes of money **And that** the said Governor and Company of Mattachusetts Bay afore-

said vnder the colour and pretext aforesaid & respecting only their owne private Lucre and gaine in their publiq Court or Assembly aforesaid held att New England aforesaid to witt att Westm^r aforesaid did make and publish one other Law or Ordinance by them de facto enacted to the effect following that is to say That noe man should be vrged to take an oath or subscribe to any Articles Covenants or Remonstrances of publique and Civill nature but such as the Generall Court (meaning the publique Assembly aforesaid) had considered allowed and required And that noe oath of any Magistrate or other Officer should bind him any further or longer then hee was resident or reputed an Inhabitant of that Jurisdiccon (meaning the bounds and premisses in the said Letters Patents about specified and granted **And forasmuch** as

Imposing an Oath
of Fidelity to their
Government.

divers Inhabitants of that Jurisdiccon who had long continued amongst them receiveing Protection from that Government had as they were informed vttered offensive speeches whereby their fidelity to that Government might justly be suspected and also that divers strangers of Forreigne parts did repaire to them of whose fidelity they had not that assurance which was comonly required of all Governments **Itt was therefore** ordered by that Court and the authority thereof That the County Courts or any one Magistrate out of Court should haue power and were thereby authorized to require the oath of Fidelity of all settled Inhabitants amongst them who had not already taken the same as also to require the Oath in the said Law or Ordinance Vnderwritten of all strangers who after two moneths had their abode there And if any person should refuse to take the respective oath he or they should be bound over to the next County Court or Court of Assistants where if he should refuse should forfeit five pounds a week for every week he should continue in that Jurisdiccon (meaning the said places lymitts bounds and the premisses aforesaid in the said Letters Patents exprest and granted) after his said refusall vnlesse he could give sufficient security to the Satisfaccon of the Court or Magistrate for his fidelity during his or their residence amongst them Which said Oath soe as aforesaid in the said Law & Ordinance sub-

scribed followed in these words **You A B**
doe acknowledge your selfe subject to the Lawes
of this Jurisdiccon dureing your residence vnder this
Government, And doe here sweare by the great name of
the ever Liveing **God** and engage your selfe to be true
& faithfull to the same and not to plott contrive and
conceale any thing that is to the hurt or detriment thereof
And that the said Governor and Company of Matta-
chusetts Bay aforesaid for the space of seaven Yeares last
past haue imposed and cause to be imposed to witt att
Westm^r aforesaid without any other right or authority in
that behalfe had or obtained and against our Will the
said oath on all Inhabitants and Residents within the
places lymitts bounds and premisses in the said Letters
Patents aboue expres't & granted in contempt of Our
Laws of this Kingdome of England and to the disherison
and apparent losse of our Royall State and contrary to the
tenor and effect of the said Letters Patents By reason
whereof Our service of and for the keeping of our peace
and good Rule and Government of Our people there was
and is much impeded to the great damage of Our People
residing there and to our noe small prejudice and griev-
ance By reason whereof the said Governor and Com-
pany of Mattachusetts Bay aforesaid haue forfeited the
said Letters Patents And because Wee are Willing
that Justice should be done therein **Wee therefore**
comand you (as Wee haue otherwise com-
manded) that by honest and lawfull men of yo^r
Baylywick you cause to be knowne to the
said Governor and Company of Mattachusetts Bay in
New England aforesaid that they be before Vs in Our
Chancery aforesaid in eight dayes of the Holy Trin-
ity next comeing wherever it shall then be to shew
cause if they haue or can why the said Letters Pa-
tents soe as aforesaid to them the said Governor and
Company made and granted and the Inrollment thereof
for the reasons aforesaid forfeited ought not to be can-
celled vacated annihilated and restored into our said
Court of Chancery there to be cancelled And further to
doe and receive what our said Court shall consider in
that behalfe and haue you there the names of them by

The Oath.

Directions to
summons the
Govr & Com-
pany.

whome you shall make it to be knowne unto them and this
 Writt **Witness** Our selfe att Westm^r the Twelveth day
 of May in the six and Thirtieth yeare of our reigne Att

Return of the
Writt.

which said eight dayes of the holy Trinity
 before our said soveraigne Lord the king that
 now is in his Chancery here that is to say att Westm^r
 aforesaid came the said S^r Robert Sawyer knight his Ma^{ty}
 Attorney Gen^{ll} who prosecutes this cause for our said
 Soveraigne Lord the king in his propper person and the
 Sheriffe of Middx aforesaid did comand the said other
 Writt in like manner to be executed and returned in forme

That ye Govr
& Compy have
Nothing in the
Bailiwick.

following that is to say That the said Governor
 and Company had nothing nor any of them had
 any thing in his Baylywick whereby hee might
 make knowne unto them or any of them nor were they nor
 any of them found in the same Whereupon the aforesaid
 S^r Robert Sawyer knight the kings Attorney Gen^{ll} who
 prosecutes this cause for our said Soveraigne Lord the
 king prayed Judgm^t and that the said Letters Patents soe
 as aforesaid to the said Governor and Company made and
 granted and the Inrollment of the same for the reasons
 aforesaid forfeited be Cancelled vacated and annihilated
 and restored into the Chancery of our said Soveraigne
 Lord the king there to be Cancelled And the said Gov-
 ernor and Company the fourth Day of the Plea of Eight
 daies of the holy Trinity aboue menconed before the said
 king in his Chancery here That is to say att Westm^r afore-
 said being solemnly called did not appeare but made de-
 fault whose Default is recorded by the said Court here.

Judgment. That
the Letters Pa-
tents & Inrolment
be vacated.

Therefore by the said Court here itt is ad-
 judged That the aforesaid Letters Patents soe
 as aforesaid to them the said Governor and
 Company made and granted and the Inrollment thereof be
 vacated Cancelled and annihilated and into the said Court
 restored there to be cancelled **The tenor** of which said
 Judgm^t Wee haue thought fitt to be exemplified by these
 presents **In witness** whereof Wee haue caused these
 our Letters to be made Patent **Witness** Our selfe att
 Westm^r the Thirteenth Day of October in the First Yeare
 of Our Reigne.

PENGRY.

ORDERS IN COUNCIL, 1660-1 TO 1692.

[These Orders in Council, concerning New England, were copied from the original books of the Privy Council by George Adlard, Esq., and communicated by J. W. Thornton, Esq. — EDS.]

At Whitehall, the 13th of February, 1660. Present, The
King's most excellent Majestie.

Upon reading a Narrative from the Officers and Commissioners of his Ma^{ty}s Customs, setting forth That some Merchants trading for New England, finde themselves much grieved in respect of the strictnesse of the Act for Navigation (lately passed in Parliament,) requiringe Bond to bee given heere, for such Comodities as shalbee there laden, That the same shalbee brought to some part of England, Ireland or Wales &c And the Comodities of that Country, being generally Clove-Boards, Pipe-staves and other Tymber, Fish, and such other Gruff [?] Comodities do better vend in other parts then heere in England, and, by proceed thereof, Comodities of greater value from Spain and other parts haue been usually imported into England, and his Ma^{ty}e thereby much advantaged in his Revenew. Upon due consideracion whereof, and at the humble suit of some Merchants, now outward bound, upon that Trade, It is thought fitt, and accordingly this day Ordered by this Board (his Majestie present in Council,) That the Right hon^{ble} the Lord High Treasurer of England do giue power and authority to the Officers and Commissioners of his Ma^{ty}s Customes in this

Concerninge the
Qualifyinge of ye
Act for Naviga-
tion.

Port of London, That they take Bond of the Merchants tradeing to those parts, onely to returne the Proceed of those Comodityes that they shall there lade, and not binde them up to returne the Comodityes in specie, the said Clause in the said Act of Navigacion notwithstanding. And further, That the Lord High Treasurer bee (and accordingly hee is) hereby desired to write his effectuall Letters to the Governour of that Plantation, givinge him the same liberty to take the like Bond there, as being most conducible to the benefit and advantage of Trade, and Improvement of his Majesties Revenew. — [Charles II. Vol. II. p. 126.]

At Whitehall the 17th of May 1661. Present, The King's most excellent Majesty.

Committee for New-England. It was then ordered by his Majestie in Councell, That the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Privy Seale, the Duke of Albemarle, the Duke of Ormond, the Lord Chamberlaine, the Earle of Anglesey, Lord Viscount Say & Seale, Lord Hollis, Lord Cornwalleis, Sir Edward Nicholas, and Sr. William Morrice Kn^{ts} principall Secretaryes of State, should bee a Committee touching the settlement of the Government of New-England, and to that end that they or any 4 or more of them should first meete at Worcester-house upon Tewesday next at 3 in the afternoone, then to consider of drawing up and framing such Letters, Proclamations or Orders as they shall judge fitt to offer to his Majestie to signe or publish in reference to the settlement of the Government of that Plantation. And afterwards the said Committee to meete at such time & place as they shall from time to time appoint, untill they haue perfected that affaire.

Charter of Corporation for New England. Whereas M^r Attorney Generall had formerly directions to prepare a Charter of Corporation for New England, and to insert therein such names as hee should receive Order for; Whereupon the names of the persons hereafter mencioned beeing this day read and approved of at the Board; It was thereupon Ordered in Councell that M^r Attorney Generall should

speedily prepare the said Charter of Corporation, and insert therein the names of the said persons hereafter named accordingly.

Members of the Corporation of New England now in being.

Alderman Francis Warner	George Clarke
Erasmus Smith Esq	Thomas Speed
Henry Ashurst, Treasurer	Thomas Bell
Richard Hutchinson	John Rolfe, Gent.
Josuah Woolnough	

To be added.

Lord Chancellor	Lord Steward
Lord Treasurer	Lord Chamberlaine
Lord Privy Seale	Earle of Anglesey
Duke of Albemarle	Lord Viscount Say & Seale

Names of New Members.

Robert Boyle Esq	Deputy Thomas Staynes
S ^r William Thompson	Deputy John Juryan
S ^r William Bateman	Deputy William Antrobus
S ^r Anthony Bateman	John Bathurst
S ^r Theophilus Bydolph	Harman Sheafe
S ^r Lawrence Bromfield	Thomas Gillibrand
Alderman Tempest Milner	James Hayes
Alderman William Love	John Benbow
Alderman William Peake	Lawrence Brinsley
Thomas Foley Esq	Barnabas Meares
D ^r Thomas Cox	John Acrod
D ^r John Micklethwaite	John Dockett, Gent.
D ^r Trench	Edward Biscowen, merchant
D ^r Charles Doyly	Martin Nowell, Gent

[Charles II. Vol. II., 216-17.]

At Whitehall the 22d of May 1661. Present, The King's most excellent Majestie.

It was this day Ordered by his Majestie in Councell, That S^r George Carteret Kn^t Vice Chamberlaine of his Majesties Household bee

Addicion to ye
Committees for
Forreigne Planta-
tions & New Eng-
land.

added to the Committees for Forreigne Plantations, and to the Committee for the affaires of New England. — [Charles II. Vol. II., 222.]

At Whitehall the 7th of August, 1661. Present, The King's most excellent Majestie.

It was this day Ordered by his Majestie in Councell that (in regard of the approaching Progresse, the businesse of New England & other affaires requireing dispatch) the Councell henceforward meete thrice a weeke, (viz^l) Munday Morning, Wednesday Morning, & Fryday Morning.

Mr Boyle to be Governor of ye Corporation for Propagating the Gospell in New England.

It was this day Ordered by his Majestie in Councell that M^r Attorney Generall be, and accordingly hee is hereby required and authorized to prepare a draught of Letters Patents to passe under his Majesties great Seale of England, constituting Robert Boyle Esq (one of the Members of the Corporation of New England) to be Governor of that Corporation for Propagating the Gospell there, with such clauses and Instructions as in like case are usuall. — [Charles II. Vol. II., 321.]

At Whitehall, the 26th of February, 1661. Present, The King's most excellent Majestie.

New England

It was ordered, That all persons that have any Commissions from those in New-England interested in the affayres of that Plantation, and all others who can give any Accompt in Reference to his Majestie's Service, and the good and benefitt of those parts, doe attend the Board on Thursday next, the 6^t of March ensuing, at 3 in the afternoon. And particularly, That Colonell Thomas Temple, & M^r Wentrop, & such as they shall advise & thinke fitt be summoned and required then & there, at the tyme aforesaid, to give their attendance also. — [Charles II. Vol. II., 558.]

At Whitehall the 2^d of July 1662.

The Petition of the Company for Propagation of the Gospell in New England and Parts adjacent of America was this day read at the Board, showing that heretofore by the blessing of God on the endeavours of some of the English Nation many of the heathen Natives of New England were converted to the Faith of Christ, which being knowne in England, it invited the Pretended Powers that then were to constitute a Corporation for the carrying on of that worke; And to graunt Liberty for a generall Collection to be made throughout England and Wales, whereby divers sumes of money were rayased and Land purchased for the settling an yearely revenue for that end, wherein such a considerable Progresse hath been made, that very many of the Indians haue been civilized and brought to like the English Manners and Government, and many haue been brought to the Profession of the Gospell, And the whole New Testament and a good part of the Old (whereof the rest is makeing ready for the Presse) hath been there printed in the Indian Language; That his Majestie graciously considering the consequences of so glorious a worke, hath lately erected a Corporation to carry on and perfect the same, who at their first entrance do find that for the space of Two yeares last past the charges have much exceeded the Incomes appropriated to that worke, and that the Revenue is much too small at present to carry on the same according to his Majesty's pious intentions, especially in regard of the great Charge that wilbe requisite, partly for recovering the greatest part of their Revenue injuriously deteyned from them, and partly for the perfecting so costly and yet necessary a worke as the perfecting the translation and printing of the Bible, and partly for the maintenance of Schooles for the breeding up of the Indian children, not only in the Principles of Christianity, but to the Knowledge of good Literature and Trades, whereby they be not only taught the true religion, but civilized also and brought to submitt to his Majesties gracious government, And therefore most humbly prayed that his Majestie would be pleased to graunt a Briefe for a generall collection to be made

Order for a Briefe
for ye Corpora-
tion of New Eng-
land, recommend-
ed to my Lord
Chancellor.

throughout England & Wales, for the purpose aforesaid. Which their Lo^{ds} takeing into their serious consideracion, and being desirous to give all encouragement possible to the said Corporation, for the carrying on of the said worke, so well begun, did think fitt to recommend it to the R^t Hon^{ble} the Lord Chancellor, who is prayed to take the same into his particular care, and give order for a Briefe accordingly. — [Charles II. Vol. III., 39.]

At Whitehall, the 25th of September, 1662. At the Committee for Plantations.

The settlement of the Plantations in New England seriously debated and discoursed, and the Lord Chancellor declared then that his Majestie would speedily send commissioners to settle the respective Interests of the severall Colonies. The Duke of Yorke to consider of the choice of fitt men.

A Patent of Corporation to be graunted to Rhode Island. — [Charles II. Vol. III., 147.]

At Whitehall, the 6th of February 1662

Mr of the Ord-
nance added to the
Comtee for New
England. It was this day ordered by the board that Sir William Compton, Knight M^r of his Majesties Ordinance be added to the Committee appointed for the affaires of New England. — [Charles II. Vol. III., 294.]

At Whitehall, the 10th of Aprill, 1663. Present, The King's most excellent Majestie.

A letter concern-
ing the Charter of
New England,
read at the Board. A letter from New England and severall Instruments and Papers, being this day read at the Board, his Majestie, (present in Councill) did declare that he intends to preserve the Charter of that Plantacion, and to send some Commissioners thither speedily to see how the Charter is maintayned on their part, and to reconcile the differences at present amongst them. — [Charles II. Vol. III., 384.]

At Whitehall December the 22th 1675. Present, The Kings most excellent Majesty.

Upon reading this day at the Board a Report of the Right Hon^{ble} the Lords Committees for Trade and Plantacions, touching the Interest of M^r Mason and M^r Gorges in the Provinces of New Hampshire and Mayne in the words following, —

The Governor & Magistrates of the Towne of Boston &c. in New England to send over their Answer to the Complaints of Mr Mason & Mr Gorges.

May it please your Majesty,

Wee haue in pursuance of your Majesties Order in Councill of the thirteenth of January last past had severall meetings Examinacions, and Debates touching the pretencions of M^r Mason and M^r Gorges, to the Provinces of New Hampshire and Mayne in New England, and they insist upon many evidences for their right, insomuch that it was the humble advice of your Majestie's late Councill of Plantacions, by their reports of the twelfth of August 1671. That your Majesty should Send over Commissioners in Order to Settle the many differences arising about Boundaries &c But when wee seriously considered this point of sending Commissioners, and how farr your Majestie's authority might bee therein also concerned Wee thought it not soe expedient (the Charge also considered) to imbarque your Majesty in a matter of doubtful consequence, nor doe Wee think it proper (how faire soever the proofes of the Petitioners' titles and Sufferings appeare) to advise your Majesty to determine any thing Ex-parte, and without hearing what the Bostoners can say, who have not had any Agents appearing for them to make answer in their behalfe, Therefore what Wee humbly propose to your Majesty is, That, upon hearing of the Petitions of M^r Mason and M^r Gorges read in Councill, your Majesty would resolve to send the Copyes thereof to the said people of Boston, letting them Knowe, That you cannot dispence with the doing of Justice, or bearing much longer the complaints of your subjects, yet being unwilling to determine in a matter of soe much weight, without first hearing what they can say why your Majesty should not give the Petitioners relief; Your Majesty thinkes fit to transmit Copyes of the said Petitions and Complaints, that

they may consider well the Allegations thereof, and both instruct and send over in the space of [] monethes, some Agents sufficiently impowered to answer for them, and to receive your Majesties Determinacion in this matter, depending for judgment before you.

All which is most humbly submitted.

Whitehall, 20th Decemb. 1675.

His Majesty in Council was pleased to approve of the said report And it is hereby Ordered, that one of the principall Secretarys of State doe prepare a letter for his Majesties signature, willing and requiring the present Governour and Magistrates of the said towne of Boston and Massatusets Colony, to Send over their Agent or Agents fully instructed, within the space of six monethes from the receipt thereof, to answer the Petitions and Complaints of the said M^r Mason & M^r Gorges, Copyes whereof are to bee transmitted unto them, That soe his Majesty may put an end to this matter, which hath soe long depended for judgment before him. — [Charles II. Vol. XII., 77-8.]

At Whitehall, February the 11th 1675. Present, The Kings most excellent Majesty.

The Bostoners in New England to answer the Complaint of the Dutch Ambr.

Upon the memoriall of the Ambassador Extraordinary of the States Generall of the United Provinces, representing that Captⁿ Jurian Arenson, Commander of the Shipp, Flying Horse of Curassao, having received a Commission from the Governor of that Island, made himselfe Master of the Forts of Penatscop, and S^t John, belonging to the French, situated upon the river of Pountegolt in the North of America in New France, and having left part of his men there, for the defence of the said places, and to trade with the Inhabitants thereabouts, the English of Boston did by force of armes attack the men left in Garrison in the said places, made them Prisoners, and razed the Fortifications, upon no other consideration but because they would not suffer any Hollanders there; Praying his Majestie to cause exemplary punishment to be inflicted upon the Offenders, and to send requisitt Orders for the speedy setting at liberty the Pris-

oners, and restitution of the said Forts, with satisfaccion for damages. It is this day Ordered, that a Copie of the said Memoriall be sent unto the Magistrats of Boston in New England who are hereby required to return their answer to the said Complaint, That so his Majestie understanding the nature of the Fact may give such order as is agreeable to Justice therein. And the Right Hon^{ble} M^r Secretary Williamson is to prepare a letter for his Majesties Signature accordingly. — [Charles II. Vol. XII., 119.]

At Whitehall, June the eighth, 1677. Present, The King's most excellent Majesty.

Upon reading this day at the Board a Representation from Edward Randolph, employed by his Majesty concerning severall Matters relating to the State of New England, and the Government thereof, His Majesty was pleased to Order in Councell, That the said representation bee referred to the Right Hon^{ble} the Lords Committees of this Board for Trade & Plantations, to consider of the same, and to take the Opinion of such of his Majesties Judges as they shall thinke fit concerning such Heads of the said Representation as relate to matters of law, And it was further Ordered, That his Majesties learned Councell in the Law doe attend their Lordships about this Affayre. — [Charles II. Vol. XIII., 40.]

Mr Randolph's representation about New England referred to the Comtee of Trade.

At Whitehall, this 9th of Aprill, 1678. Present, The King's most excellent Ma^{ty}

Upon reading this day at the Board the Petition of S^r Edmond Andros, Knight, Seigneur of Someres, L^t and Gouverneur of New Yorke, and other Territoryes in America, under his royall Highness, Complaining that notwithstanding his great proffers and Services done to the ——— neighbouring Colonyes of New England, in the late Indyan Warr, and his subjection of the Eastward Indyans, at his royall Hyghnesses great charge, and particularly in his strict prohibition of the Sale of Powder, and other ammunition, Yet the Colony of Massachuset's Bay, in their Declaration of Warr there,

The Agents of New England to Answer Sr Ed Andros his Petition.

printed in 1675; and in Bookes of the sayd Warr printed since doe declare and asperse all his Majestyes subjects in Albany, with having recruited Philip, and other their Indyan enemyes, with ammunition from that place, and haue since refused to alledge the least colour for this thing, or give satisfaction (tho' required) for this publique imputation, and still allow and countenance the vending the sayd bookes amongst them, And therefore for Secureing the sayd people from the penaltyes which may be inflicted on them by the sayd Massechusetts for this imputed crime (If found amongst them) humbly prayd his Majesty to cause Inquiry to be made of the truth of this matter, while the Agents of the sayd Colony are yet here, And thereupon to give such Order for the punishment of the Offenders, as to his Majesty should seeme meete, His Majesty was pleased to Order, And it is accordingly Ordered, That a Copy of the said Peticion be given to the sayd Agents of the Massachusetts, who are required forthwith to returne their answer to this Complaint unto this Board, That thereupon his Majesty may declare his further pleasure. — [Charles II. Vol. XIII., 285.]

At Whitehall, this 24th of Aprill, 1678. Present, The Kings most excellent Majesty.

The Oath of Allegiance to be administered to the Agents of New England.

It was this day Ordered, by his Majesty in Councill, That the Right Hon^{ble} the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Plantations, doe administer the Oath of Allegiance to the two Agents from New England now here. — [Charles II. Vol. XIII., 307.]

At Whitehall, this 4th of December, 1678. Present, The Kings most excellent Majesty.

The Agents of New England to attend.

Whereas Randall Holden and John Green, Deputyes for the towne of Warwick and Colony in Road Island, did this day represent unto his Majesty in Councill, that some persons within the Corporation of the Massachusetts Bay, had by a printed paper affixed in publique places in New England, layd claime to a Tract of Land, called the King's Province, which of right belongs to his Majesty, and to

the Jurisdiction of Road Island. And the sayd printed Paper having been also read at the Board, His Majesty was pleased to Order That a copy of the sayd paper be sent unto William Stoughton and Peter Bulkely, Agents for the Massachusetts Colony, who are hereby directed to attend his Majesty in Councill on Friday the 6th instant, and there to show by what authority or title the sayd claymants pretend unto the sayd lands, mentioned in the sayd Paper, and the sayd Agents are likewise Ordered at the same time to informe the Board what obedience has been rendred within the Massachusetts Colony to his Majestyes letters of the 27 of Aprill 1678. enjoinning the Magistrates and other inhabitants thereof to take the Oath of Allegiance unto his Majesty, according to the forme there enclosed. — [Charles II. Vol. XIII., 464.]

At Whitehall, the 20th of June, 1679. Present, The King's most excellent Majestie.

The Right Hon^{ble} the Lords of the Committee of Trade and Forreigne Plantacions did this day present to his Majestie in Councill a Report in the words following, —

Letter to the Colony of the Massachusetts in New England.

May it please your Majestie.

Wee having taken the busines of New England, as it concernes the Colony of the Massachusetts, into our Consideration, and finding the present conjuncture is not very favourable for settling and establishing what concerns your Majestie's service there in such method as were to be wish't and towards which worke we haue prepared and are preparing many Materialls now under the care of S^r Robert Southwell, and finding the Agents, after a long attendance here, very impatient to return home, Wee presume to offer your Ma^{tie} for your approbation, such a Draught of a Letter to be writ unto that Colony, as may keep things in a fair and probable way of amendment, untill a fitter season shall present more effectually to reassume the care of this whole matter. And the said Letter* is as followeth, —

* We omit this letter, as it is printed in Hutchinson's Collection of Papers, pp. 519-522. — Eds.

His Majestie having taken into consideration the said report is graciously pleased to approve the same, and One of his Majesties Principall Secretaries of State is hereby authorized and directed to prepare a Letter for his Majesties Royall Signature accordingly. — [Charles II. Vol. XV., 293 – 6.]

At Whitehall the 2^d of July, 1679.

A letter to be writ to New England in favour of William Harris of Patuxet.

There being this day presented to the Board a Report from the R^t Hon^{ble} the Lords of the Committee for Trade & Plantations in these words following, viz.

May it please your Majesty

Wee haue receiued your Majesties Reference in Councill of the 23^d of May last concerning the pretensions of William Harris of Patuxet in New England and Partners, — And in obedience thereunto, Wee humbly report, That the Petitioner did by his Petition presented to your Majesty in Councill on the 11th of June 1675, set forth the great wrong done him and his partners by severall Persons who deteyned the Lands which they had purchased from the Indians, Whereupon your Majesty was pleased to command by your Royall Letters, the Governors of the severall Colonies in New England to appoint some honest, able and indifferent Persons to be joyned together, with full and sufficient authority to cause the differences and troubles arising to the Petitioner and his Partners, concerning the lands of Patuxet, to be brought to a fair Tryall, and that by an indifferent and upright Jury all might be finally determined according to Justice. In pursuance whereof the said Commissioners having met and the Jury appointed by them having given five Verdicts in favour of the Petitioner and his partners, a state of those proceedings signed by severall of the Commissioners was returned to your Majesty, by the Governors of your Colonies of the Massachusetts & Rhode Island, for your Majesties determination upon that whole affair; but at the same time a Petition was offered unto your Majesty by Randall Holden & John Green in behalf of themselves and other your Subjects, the Inhabitants of the towne of Warwick, and other adja-

cent places, belonging to your Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantation, complayning of the injustice of the second Verdict given against them. And in consideration of the complainants humble appeal unto your Majesty, together with the reasons and evidences alleaged by them in justification of their right in the Lands possessed by them, as not appearing to be any part of the Lands of Patuxet, which only by your Majesties Commission were to be brought to a tryall, Your Majesty was pleased to order on the 2nd of Jan^y last, That the Inhabitants of the towne of Warwick should not be disturbed in the quiet possession of the said lands, And that all things relating thereunto should remain in the same state they were in before the meeting of the said Commissioners, untill William Harris & Partners should before your Majesty in Council make out a sufficient title thereunto.

And whereas the said Holden & Green were no sooner departed, but the Petitioner William Harris hath made his appearance, beseeching your Majesty to take such course as might finally determine the matters complayned of by him, Wee are humbly of Opinion, That by reason of the distance of places & absence of the Parties it wilbe a matter of too great difficulty for your Majesty to give such judgment therein as may equally decide their respective pretensions.

And whereas the said Holden & Green did offer their Exceptions against the Colonies of the Massachusetts & Conecticut, upon divers past differences between them, And that on the other side the Petitioner William Harris thinks he has just cause to except against the Colony of Rhode Island, as being particularly interested in the present controversy. Wee therefore humbly offer, That your Majestie's royall commands be again sent to the Governor and Magistrates of your Colony of New Plymouth, authorizing and requiring them to call before them the said Randall Holden and John Green, and other persons in whose behalf they haue lately appealed unto your Majesty, And having in due manner examined the pretentions of the said Harris unto the Lands possessed by them, do returne unto your Majesty a particular state thereof, and their opinions thereupon, with all convenient speed.

And whereas your Majesty hath already thought fit to Order, That the said William Harris and Partners, be peaceably and quietly possessed of the Lands of Patuxet, adjudged unto them by the first and three last verdicts given in pursuance of your Majestyes late commission, Wee further offer, That the Governor and Magistrates of the Colony of Rhode Island, to whose Jurisdiction the said Lands apperteyne, be strictly charged and required to put the said William Harris and Partners into the quiet possession thereof, and to take care that Execution be given for their damage and Costs, allowed by the said verdicts and judgments of Court, within the space of three Monethes at furthest, after the receipt of your Majesties Comands, And that in default thereof, sufficient powers may be sent unto the neighboring Colony of New Plymouth to cause the same to be duly executed without delay.

All which is most humbly submitted.

Shaftesbury Pr. Bridgwater, Fauconberg.

Tho. Dolman.

Which Report having been this day read at the Board and approved of, — Their Lordships were pleased to Order, That one of his Majesties principall Secretarys of State do prepare Letters for his Majesties royall signature as well to the Governor & Magistrates of his Majesties Colony of New Plymouth to examine the Pretensions of the said William Harris unto the Lands possessed by Randall Holden, John Green and others, and returne a particular State thereof with their Opinions to his Majesty, with all convenient speed, As to the Governor and Magistrates of the Colony of Rhode Island to put him the said Harris and Partners, in the peaceable and quiet possession of the Lands of Patuxet, adjudged to them by the Verdicts aforesaid, given in pursuance of his Majesties late Commission, together with the Costs and damages, according to the tenor of the abovementioned Report. — [Charles II. Vol. XV., 320 – 1.]

At Whitehall, the 20th of September 1682. Present, The Kings most excellent Ma^{tie}

New England.
The Agents to
send for a fuller
Commission, to

The Lords Committees of this Board for
Trade and Forreigne Plantations having this

day reported to his Majestie in Councill that the Agents or Messengers lately arrived from the Massachusetts Bay in New England, not having brought sufficient powers for the regulation of his Majesties Government there, according to his Majesties former commands, Their Lordships proposed that his Majesty would be pleased to order them forthwith to procure the Same. Upon consideration whereof his Majestie in Councill was pleased to Order & it is hereby Ordered accordingly, That the said Agents or Messengers doe forthwith procure from his Majesties Governor & Company of the Massachusetts Bay, sufficient Commission and full powers to agree upon the regulation of that Government; and to consent to such matters as shalbe thought necessary, pursuant to his Majestie's letters to that Colony; and in the mean time the said Agents continue their attendance here; And in case of neglect or failure in the particulars aboue mentioned, His Majestie was pleased to declare his pleasure that he would cause a Quo Warranto to be brought against the said Governour & Company for the abuses of their Charter, upon the first day of Hillary Terme next.—[Charles II. Vol. XVI., 545 - 6.]

agree upon the Regulation of the Massachusetts Colony.

At Hampton Court, the 13th of June, 1683. Wensday mornng. Present, The Kings most excellent Majesty.

The Right Hon^{ble} the Lords of the Committee for Trade & Forraign Plantations having this day presented to the Board a Report, in the words following, viz.

Quo Warranto to be brought against the Government of the Massachusetts Bay in New England.

May it please your Majesty

Your Majesty having by an Order in Councill dated the 20th of September last, directed the Agents from the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England to procure sufficient Commission and full power to agree upon the regulation of that Government, and to consent to such matters as should be thought necessary in pursuance of your Majesty's Letters to that Colony; And in Case of neglect or faylure therein, a Quo Warranto should be brought against the said Governor and Com-

pany, upon the first day of Hilary Terme then next ensuing. Wee were this day attended by the said Agents, and by M^r Randolph, Officer of your Majesty's Customs in New England; And having seen and examined the powers transmitted to the said Agents in answer to your Majesty's Commands, Wee are most humbly of Opinion that inas-much as the said powers being not generall but limited, are not full nor sufficient to enable the said Agents to consent unto such Matters as may be thought necessary for the due regulation of that Government; Your Majesty would now be pleased to order your Attorney Generall forthwith to bring a Quo Warranto against the said Governor and Company, for the abuses of their Charter, according to your Majesty's pleasure signified to them.

All which is most humbly submitted.

Which having been read and considered, His Majesty was pleased to approve thereof; And did Order, that Sir Robert Sawyer, Kn^t his Majesty's Attorney Generall do forthwith bring a Quo Warranto against the said Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay for the abuses of their Charter, as is advised in the said report. And for the more effectuall prosecution thereof, M^r Randolph is hereby required to attend his Majesty's said Attorney with such Articles Witnesses and Proofs, as he is able to produce against the said Government. — [Charles II. Vol. XVII., 1.]

At Whitehall, this 20th of July, 1683. Fryday Mornng.

The New Eng-
land Agents per-
mitted to returne
home.

Upon reading the petition of Joseph Dudley and John Richards, Agents or Messengers from the Governour and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England; Setting forth, That a Quo Warranto being issued against the Charter and Government of that Colony, they are not willing to undertake the deffence & mannagement thereof, And therefore praying they may be permitted to returne home, to take care of their private affaires. And the Right Hon^{ble} The Lords of the Committee for Trade, and Forreigne Plantacions, having this day reported their Opinions to the Board, that leaue may be given them to returne home, there being

no occasion for their longer stay here; It was accordingly Ordered, As it is hereby Ordered, That the sayd Joseph Dudley and John Richards Essq^{rs} be discharged from their further attendance here, And that they may returne to New England so soon as M^r Edward Randolph (who is forthwith going thether upon his Majestyes service, by his Majestyes Commands) shall be embarkt for his sayd Voyage.

The Right Hon^{ble} the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Forreigne Plantacions having this day presented to the Board, a report concerning New England, together with the Draft of a Declaration from his Majesty to the Governour and Company of the Massachusetts Bay, upon issuing a Quo Warranto against the Charter of that Colony, And the sayd report and Declaration being read, and considered at the Board. It was Ordered, as it is hereby Ordered, That M^r Edward Randolph be sent to New England with the Notification of the sayd Quo Warranto, which he is to deliver to the sayd Governour and Company of the Massachusetts Bay. And thereupon to returne to give his Majesty an account of his proceedings therein. And one of his Majesty's principall Secretary's of State is likewise to prepare the sayd Declaration for his Majesty's Signature, in order to be sent to New England, and delivered to the Governour and Company, by the sayd Edward Randolph as aforesayd. And it is hereby further Ordered, That his Majesty's printers doe forthwith print and deliver unto the sayd Edward Randolph two hundred Copyes of the aforesaid Declaration; As also one hundred copyes of all the proceedings at the Councill Board, concerning the Charter of London, which were printed by order of his Majesty at this Board, to be dispersed by him in New England, as he shall thinke best for his Majesty's Service. — [Charles II. Vol. XVII., 21 – 22.]

Mr Randolph to carry to New England, his Majesty's Declaration about their Charter, &c.

[James II.] At Windsor, the 20th of June 1686. Present, The King's most excellent Majesty.

The right hon^{ble} the Earle of Sunderland, The Fort & Country of Pemaquid

to be under the
Government of
New England.

Lord President of the Councill, having at the desire of the Lords of the Committee for Trade & Plantations this day humbly moved his Majesty, to declare his pleasure whether the Fort & Country of *Pemaguid* in New England, shall remaine under the Government of New Yorke, or be annexed to New England; His Majesty taking the same into consideration, was pleased to declare & Order, That the said Fort and Country of *Pemaguid*, in regard of his [?] distance from New Yorke, be for the future, annexed to, and continued under the Government of New England. — [James II. Vol. I., 291.]

At Whitehall, the 27th of October, 1686. Wensday afternoon. Present, The King's most excellent Majesty.

Sr Edmond Andros to regulate the value of Forraign Coynes in New England.

Whereas the R^t Hon^{ble} the Lords of the Committee for Trade & Plantations did by their report this day read at the Board, represent, That they haue lately had under consideration, a Proposall made unto them for re-establishing a Mint in his Majestys Territory of New England, under the Government of S^r Edmond Andros, And having consulted the Officers of his Majesty's Mint here in that behalf, Their Lordships do not find the same to be for his Majesty's Service, but offered it as their opinions, That for the benefit of Trade and Commerce in those parts, Sir Edmond Andros may haue power by Proclamation to regulate the Peices of Eight and other Forraign Coynes imported thither, to such current value, as he shall find most requisite for his Majestys service, and the Trade of his subjects there. Which his Majesty taking into consideration was pleased to approve of their Lordship's opinion, and accordingly did order, That Sir Edmond Andros be, and he is hereby authorized and empowered by Proclamation to regulate Peices of Eight, and other Forrain Coynes within the said Territory of New England to such currant value, as he shall judge most requisite for his Majesty's Service, and the Trade of his Subjects there. — [James II. Vol. I., 329.]

At Hampton Court, the 18th of June, 1687. Present, The King's most excellent Majesty.

A report from the R^t Hon^{ble} the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Forraign Plantations, touching the annexing of the Colony of Connecticut to the Government of New England, being this day read at the Board, as followeth

Sr Edmond Andros to take under the Governmt of New Engld, the Colony of Conecticut.

May it please your Majesty,

Wee haue considered a letter directed to the Right Hon^{ble} the Earle of Sunderland from the Generall Court of your Majesty's Colony of Conecticut in New England, wherein they represent their desires to continue in the same Station they are at present, if it shall so please your Majesty, But that if your Majesty shall thinke fit otherwise to dispose of them, they do in all duty declare their readines to submit to your Royall commands; Hoping that your Majesty may be more enclined to annex them to the Government of New England, then to any other, Whereupon Wee most humbly offer our opinion, That your Majesty be pleased to send your instruccions to Sir Edmond Andros, forthwith to signify your Majesty's good liking and acceptance of their dutifull Submission, and to take them under his Government; in such manner and under the same regulations as are directed by your Majesty's Commission and Instructions to Sir Edmond Andros, for the good government of the other Colonys; Assuring them of your Majesty's particular regard and royall protection, And that he do admit and cause to be sworne of your Majestys Councill in New England, Robert Treat Esq, the present Governor and John Allen Esq, the present Secretary of Conecticut, for the better carrying on your Majesty's Service in that Colony.

All which is most humbly submitted.

June 19.[?] 1687.

His Majesty was pleased to approve of the said report, and did Order, That the R^t Hon^{ble} the Earle of Sunderland, Lord President of the Councill and principall Secretary of State, do cause instructions to be prepared for his Majesty's royall Signature, according to the said report, and

transmitted to Sir Edmond Andros, for taking the said Colony of Conecticut under his Government. And requiring him to cause Robert Treat Esq, the present Governor, and John Allen Esq, the present Secretary of Conecticut, to be sworne and admitted of his Majesty's Councill of New England, for the better carrying on the Service of the said Colony. — [James II., 467.]

[4 Nov^r Ordered that "Samuel Shrimpton, William Brown Jun^r, Simon Linds and Richard Smith" be admitted of the "Councill in New England," on the recommendation of Sir Edmund Andros. — p. 519.]

At Whitehall, the 23^d March 1687. Present, The King's most excellent Majesty.

Sr Edmd Andros
to be Governor of
New England
New York and
New Jerseys.

The draught of a Commission for Sir Edmond Andros, Kn^t to be Governor of New England, New York and New Jerzeys, having been presented by the R^t Hon^{ble} the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Plantations, the same was read and approved, His Majesty in Councill is thereupon pleased to order that the R^t Hon^{ble} the Earl of Sunderland, principall Secretary of State do prepare a Warrant for his Majesties Royall Signature, in order to the passing of the said Commission under the Great Seale. — [James II. Pt. II., 637.]

[1688-9.] New Charter to be granted to New England, & Com^{rs} to govern for y^e present, instead of Sir Edmond Andros. — [William & Mary, Vol. I., 21.]

At Hampton Court, the 18th of April, 1689. Present, The King's Most excellent Majesty.

New England,
&c. A Governor
& Lt Governor to
be named.

The Earle of Shrewsbury is directed upon inquiry from those who haue the most considerable interest in New England, New York, and the Jerzeys, to present to the King the names of such as may be thought fitt at this time to be Governor and Lieut. Governor of those Parts. — [William & Mary, Vol. I., 77.]

At Whitehall, the 25th of July, 1689. Present, The King's most excellent Majesty.

Upon reading the Petition of Sir Edmond Andros Kn^t, late Governor of New England, and others, seized by some people in Boston and detained under close confinement there, humbly praying that they may be either set at liberty, or sent in safe custody into England, to answer before his Majesty what may be objected against them. His Majesty in Council is pleased to order, as it is hereby ordered, that the said Sir Edmund Andros and others their Majesty's subjects in New England that have been in like manner seized by the said people in Boston, and are detained by them under Confinement, be forthwith sent on board the first Ship bound hither, to answer before his Majesty what may be objected against them, and that they be civilly used in their passage from New England, and safely conveyed to his Majesty's presence. And one of his Majesty's Principall Secretaries of State is to prepare Letters to such as for the time being take care for the preserving the peace, and administering the laws in their Majesty's Colony of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, for his Majesty's Royall Signature accordingly. — [William & Mary, Vol. I., 198.]

Sr Edmond Andros & others Prisoners in N. England, to be sent hither, by the first Ship.

At Whitehall the 24th of Aprill 1690. Present, The King's most excellent Majesty.

The R^t Hon^{ble} the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Plantations having this day presented a report to his Majesty in Council, in the words following, viz^l.

Sir Edmond Andros & others discharged. Petition against them dismissed &c.

May it please your Majesty

Your Majesty having by your letters, dated the 30th day of July last, to the present Government of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, Signified your pleasure that Sir Edmund Andros, late Governor of that Territory, and others that had been seized by the people of Boston, upon the late Revolution, and detained there under confinement,

for the space of ten Months, should according to their humble request made to your Majesty in Council, be sent into England by the first opportunity, to answer before your Majesty what might be objected against them. Wee haue accordingly, on the tenth instant, been attended by Sir Edmund Andros and others, lately imprisoned in New England, As also by Sir Henry Ashurst, M^r Elisha Cook, M^r Increase Mather, and M^r Thomas Oakes, who then declared themselves unto us to be Agents for the said Government of the Massachusetts Bay. But by reason of the late arrivall in England of some of them, desired they might be allowed further time to produce their Credentials and charge against the said Sir Edmund Andros and others foresaid; which charge having been brought in on the Munday following, Wee were, according to our directions attended on Thursday last by Sir Edmund Andros and such as were lately Imprisoned in New England, and by Counsel learned on both sides. At which time the Counsel learned for the people of the Massachusetts Bay, as they termed themselves, having been asked by us whether any person were ready to sign or own the said charge, no person could then be found or was named unto us, upon Our inquiry to sign or own the same. So that as wee saw no matter of complaint, or objection against Sir Edmund Andros and others aforesaid, to proceed upon, Wee do therefore most humbly offer our Opinion to your Majesty, that the said Sir Edmund Andros and other Persons lately Imprisoned in New England, and now attending your Majesty, be forthwith discharged and set at liberty, And that the said Paper or Charge, which has not been signed or owned, may be dismissed, inasmmch as nothing has been objected against the said Sir Edmund Andros and others, by the present Government of the Massachusetts Bay, or their Agents, at the times appointed by us, in pursuance of Your Majesty's pleasure signified to them in that behalf. Which is nevertheless most humbly submitted.

Councill Chamber, the 17th Aprill 1690.

His Majesty in Council is pleased to approve of the said report, and to Order that the Paper or Charge therein

mentioned, as not being signed or owned by any Person, be dismissed, as it is hereby dismissed this Board. And that Sir Edmund Andros, late Governor of New England, and others that haue been seized by the people of Boston upon the late Revolution, and now attending his Majesty, be forthwith discharged, as they are hereby discharged and set at liberty, according to the said report. — [William & Mary, Vol. I., 428.]

At Kensinton, the first of January, 1690. Present, The King's most excellent Majesty.

Whereas it is humbly desired by the persons imployed on behalf of the Massachusetts Colony in New England; that in regard they were Incorporated by the Letters Patents of King Charles the first, the heads whereof are hereunto annexed, And for that the said Corporation did afterward purchase from the Heir of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the Province of Maine, granted to the said Sir Ferdinando Gorges by Letters Patents of the said King Charles the first, an Abstract whereof is also hereunto annexed, and enjoyed the same till the late Judgement against them. That their Majestys would be pleased to re-establish their Corporation, and grant them their Lawes and former Priviledges, as in the severall Papers annexed is at large set forth. His Majesty in Councill is pleased to referr this matter to the Rt Hon^{ble} the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Plantations, who are to examine the same, and to report their Opinion thereupon to this Board. — [William & Mary, Vol. II. 95.]

Agents of New England, about renewing their Charter. Referr'd.

At Whitehall the 9th of Aprill, 1691.

An address to his Majesty from divers of the Gentry, Merchants and others inhabiting in Boston, Charles Town, and Places adjacent in New England, having been this day humbly presented by Sir Purbeck Temple and read at the Board. It is thereupon ordered in Councill, That the consideration thereof be referred to the Rt^t Hon^{ble} The Lords of the Committee for Trade and Plantations, And that a

New England Address. referred to the Committee of Plantations. The Original Address was sent to the Plantation Office.

Copy of the said Address be sent to the Agents of New England, who are to give their Lordships an account in writing of the present State of the Massachusetts Colony, on Thursday next at Five in the afternoon, when their Lordships are to meet, And all persons concerned in New England are to haue notice to attend, and particularly Sir William Phipps, who is then to bring to the Committee a relation of the late proceedings and Expedition of the People of New England against Canada, under his command. — [William & Mary, Vol. II., 149.]

At Whitehall, the 30th of Aprill, 1691. Present, The King's most excellent Majesty. His Royall Highness Prince George of Denmark, Presid^t of the Council.

Massachusetts Colony in New England, a Charter to be prepared, but his Majesty will name & appoint the Governor.

His Majesty hauing upon the application of the Agents of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, thought fit to referr the draught of a new Charter for that Colony, unto the R^t Hon^{ble} the Lords of the Committee of Trade & Plantations, And their Lordships having, upon consideration thereof, this day reported to His Majesty that they humbly conceived it necessary that before there be any further proceedings relating to that Charter, His Majesty would declare whether it be His royall pleasure to haue a Governor or single representative of his own appointment, from time to time, to give his consent to all Laws and Acts of Government, as in Barbados and the other Plantations, or whether his Majesty would leave the power of making laws to the People, or Officers appointed by them. And his Majesty upon debate of this matter having been acquainted that the former Charter of the Massachusetts Bay stood legally vacated, And that the Agents of that Colony had desired a new Charter from his Majesty, with divers variations from the former Charter; His Majesty was thereupon pleased to declare in Councill, That he did resolve to send a Governor of his own nomination and appointment for the administration of the Government of the Massachusetts Colony, as in Barbados and other Plantations. And did further order, as it is hereby ordered, That the R^t Hon^{ble} the Lords of the Committee of Trade

& Plantations do forthwith prepare the draught of a new Charter upon that foundation, for the speedy settlement of the said Colony. — [William & Mary, Vol. II., 161.]

Att Whitehall, the 17th of September, 1691. Present, The Queens most excellent Majesty. His royall Highness Prince George of Denmark.

The draught of a Charter prepared by the Lords of the Committee of Trade and Plantations for the Province of Massachusetts Bay in New England having been this day read at the Board, It is thereupon ordered by Her Majesty in Council that the R^t Hon^{ble} the Earle of Nottingham, her Majestie's Principall Secretary of State do prepare a Warrant for her Majesties Royall Signature, for passing the said Charter under the Great Seale of England, in the usual manner. — [William & Mary, Vol. II., 241.]

New England.
Order for passing the Massachusetts Charter, under the Great Seale.

At Whitehall the 12th of October, 1691.

Whereas the R^t Hono^{ble} the Lords of the Committee for Trade & Plantations did this day represent to the Board, That having considered the Petition of Sir Edmond Andros, late Governor of New England, They are of opinion, That the Government of the Massachusetts Bay being now settled, the Petitioners accompts may be referred to the examination of the Governor and Councill of that Province, It was thereupon accordingly ordered by their Lordships That the accompts of money disbursed by the Petitioner for the Publique service, during his late Government of New England, Be and they are hereby referred to the examination of the Governor and Councill of the Massachusetts Bay, who are to cause payment to be made to him in course out of the Publique revenue there, of what shall appear to have been expended, and justly due to the Petitioner, in the Publique service, during his Government of New England. — [William & Mary, Vol. II., 256.]

Sir Edmond Andros Accompts referred to the Govr & Councill of the Massachusetts Bay.

[1691. A similar reference made at the same sitting, of the Accompts of M^r John Usher, late

Mr Usher, Treasurer of New Engd his Accompts referred to the Govr

& Council of the
Massachusetts
Bay & his Securi-
ty to be changed.

Treasurer of New England, and his Security to be changed. "And whereas Elisha Cooke and Thomas Oakes, two of the said Agents, haue certified under their hands, the good liking of the Security proposed by the Petitioner viz. M^r Thomas Brindley and M^r Thaddeus MacCarty of Boston," &c. Accompts referred to the Gov^r & Council of Massachusetts Bay. — William & Mary, Vol. II., 255.]

At Whitehall, the 16th of February 1692.

Letters to be sent
to Connecticut &
Rhode Island to
assist New Yorke.

Letters having already been sent to the Governor of the Massachusetts Bay, the Governors of Virginia, Maryland & Pensilvania, directing them, upon the application of the Governor of New Yorke, to assist him with men or otherwise, for the securing of that Province from any Attempts of their Majesty's enemies in those parts, the like Letters may be sent from his Majesty to the Colonies of Connecticut & Rhode Island, in New England.

Mr Dudley & Mr
Pinhorn to be re-
moved from the
Council of New
Yorke.

The Right Hon^{ble} the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Plantations having this day moved in Council, That M^r Joseph Dudley and M^r William Pinhorn, whom Col. Fletcher, Governor of New York, hath suspended from being of the Council, for not residing within the Province, nor having any Estate there, may be removed from their places in the Council, in case they will not reside within the province of New York, It was thereupon ordered, That the R^t Hon^{ble} The Earle of Nottingham, Principall Secretary of State be desired to prepare Letters for his Majesties royall Signature, directing that the said Joseph Dudley and William Pinhorne be accordingly removed from their places in the Council of New Yorke, in case they will not reside within that Province. — [William & Mary, Vol. III., 95.]

GOVERNOR BRADSTREET TO SIR LIONEL JENKINS.

[This and the two following letters were received from the same source as the "Orders in Council" next preceding. After the latter had been printed, a note was put into our hands by Mr. Thornton, addressed to him by Mr. Adlard, in which he says: "As I understand the Publishing Committee of the Massachusetts Historical Society have the Privy Council Records, with the intention of inserting them in the next volume of their Transactions, I should be glad if you would call on some member of the Committee and request them to print the *whole*, instead of only a portion. That which they have is part and parcel of the portion printed by Mr. Drake [in the Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. VIII. pp. 135–145]. The hiatus that appears between the two portions does not arise from any omission on the part of the transcriber, but is the omission in the Records of the Privy Council, arising from the interregnum between the death of Charles the First and the Restoration. Cromwell did not keep up the Records, having in fact no Privy Council that could be so called. From entries occasionally made, few and far between, [from 1641 to the death of Charles,] it appears that the Council Register Books were taken from place to place, wherever Charles was driven; and the only entries made were strictly of a local English character, and had no reference to American affairs. I have reason to believe that neither Mr. Bancroft nor any other American historian has had access to these records or registers; and as they were selected and *carefully transcribed by myself*, I think they cannot but be looked upon by all as a valuable contribution to American history. I trust you will succeed in having them printed entire, which will render them so much the more valuable, as being *one* consecutive series, and the only one, I believe, that has ever been collected." It was, of course, too late to comply with Mr. Adlard's request; indeed, this volume was nearly completed before the portion from which we have printed was put into our hands, and of these we have felt obliged to omit a few entries. In printing these early papers in this volume, the purpose has been to give the orthography of the original. Many of the letters and words in the manuscripts have a dash or a circumflex over them, to denote that the word is a contraction; but we have not been able generally, for want of type, to denote these. — Eds.]

To the Right Hon^{ble} S^r Lyonel Jenkins Kn^t One of His
Ma^{ties} Principal Secretaryes of State.

Boston, New England, May 29th 1682.

Right Hon^{ble}

These are (with our most humble service to your Hon^r) to accompany our worthy Friends Joseph Dudley & John Richards Esq^{rs} who are by the Govern^r & Company of this Colonie, appointed their Agents, to attend His Majesties service & Comands, being well Knowne unto us, to be of approved Loyaltie to His Majesties Interest, as well as Intelligent in the affaires of this His Colonie. We have formerly acquainted Your Hon^r with those difficulties, we haue mett with in this Matter, & therewithall with our Resolutions (as soon as possible we could obtaine a removall of y^m) to yield obedience to His Ma^{ties} comands therein. We also informed Your Hon^r more lately how impossible it was for us to appeare, by the time limited in His Ma^{ties} Gracious L^{re} of Octo^r 21. 1681. This is the first Ship from this Port, since y^t time, excepting That by w^{ch} we gaue yo^r Hon^r that Information, w^{ch} was ready to Saile wⁿ we Received His Ma^{ties} Said Gracious L^{re}. So that we humbly hope (the Reality of our Intentions now appearing) His Ma^{tie} will Graciously please not to impute the Lapse of time to us, as a Neglect, but look upon it as an effect of those Obstructions with which we haue been attended.

Rt. Hon^{ble}. As His Ma^{ties} Princely Clemency and Goodnesse assures us of His Gracious Aspect upon our Agents, so we humbly beg Yo^r Hon^{rs} Favour to them (God having been pleased to set You in a place of so great Eminencie near unto His Ma^{tie}) By meanes of wh they may have accesse into His Ma^{ties} Presence, and be greatly furthered and happily conducted in their Negociation and seasonably dispatched, to the Hon^r & Satisfaction of his Sacred Ma^{tie} & the Advantage & Settlement of this people. Hereby we Shall be greatly obliged to pray for the long continuance of Yo^r Honour and prosperity in this Life and future Happiness.

We are, Right Hon^{rble}, Your Hon^{rs} most obliged and most humble Servants, The Govern^r & Council of the Mattachusetts in New England.

(Signed,) SIMON BRADSTREET
Gov^r

INCREASE MATHER TO THE EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

To The R^t Hon^{ble} the Earle of Nottingham his Maj^{ties}
Principall Secretary of State, — Att Whitehall.

My Lord,

I have only to assure yo^r Lordsh^p that the Generallity of their Maj^{ties} Subjects (soe far as I can understand) doe with all thankfulness receive the favours which by the new Charter, are granted to them. The last worke [weeke?] the Generall Assembly (which yo^r Lordsh^p Knows is our New England Parliament) convened at Boston I did then exhort them to make an address of thanks to their Maj^{ties} w^{ch} I am since informed the Assembly have unanimously agreed to doe as in duty they are bound. I have also acquainted the whole Assembly how much not myself onely but they and all this Province are obliged to yo^r Lordsh^p in particular which they have a gratefull sence of, as by letters from themselves yo^r Lordsh^p will perceive.

If I may in anything serve their Maj^{ties} Interest here, I shall on that account think myself happy and shall always study to approue myself,

My Lord, Yo^r most humble Thankfull and
Obedient Servant,
INCREASE MATHER.

Boston, N. E. June 23, 1692.

LETTER OF GOVERNOR JOSEPH DUDLEY.

Boston, Nov^r 16th 1716.

S^r

When His Majesty thought fit about a year since to dismiss me from the Government of this Province I had Notice given me from Whitehall, how much I was oblig'd to you in offering to recomend one of my Sons for the Lieut. Governour's Comission.

This I understand to be design'd as a mark of the King's favour for my thirteen Years successfull services to the Crown here, & though it was not done then, yet now I am to give you my humble Thanks for naming M^r Dumer to that employment, who marry'd my Daughter, & for his many worthy qualities is as dear to me as if he were my own Son.

I beg S^r you'l believe that though I have Sentiments of great gratitude for this honour done to one of my family, yet had it not been, my loyalty & good Behaviour to the Governm^t should have been equally apparent to every Body. The King has for ever endear'd the hearts of his loyal Subjects in these Provinces by appointing so prudent & good a Man as Col. Shute to Rule over them.

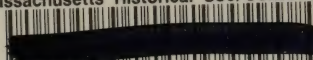
I am now grown Old, & having liv'd to see His Majesty triumph over his Enemies, & the Administration of the Kingdom settled in a wise & faithfull ministry, I think I have liv'd long enough: I humbly pray Almighty God to preserve your Life for the Great good of the Nation, & remain,

S^r Your Most faithful Humble Servant

(Signed,) J. DUDLEY.

[No address, but indorsed, "Boston, Nov. 16, 1716, M^r Dudley late Governour.]

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